

Current History

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DECEMBER, 1974

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

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Current History

DECEMBER, 1974

VOL. 67, NO. 400

In this issue, Indian and non-Indian specialists review the problems faced by Indians in the United States today. How have the native Americans adjusted to twentieth century American life? What is their relationship to white America? Noting that "non-Indians have been generally misinformed about the Indian peoples," our introductory article stresses the fact that "years of misunderstanding, suspicion, and mistreatment are not easily brushed aside."

The American Indian: An Overview

BY ROBERT L. FAHERTY

Managing Editor, Encyclopedia of Indians of the Americas

FOR ALMOST FIVE centuries, the original inhabitants of what is now the United States and those people who have come to call themselves Americans have remained largely strangers. This situation is beginning to change, but years of misunderstanding, suspicion, and mistreatment are not easily brushed aside. Misconceptions that have become deeply enrooted are difficult to eradicate.

Perhaps most devastating is the image of the Indian as savage, an image that has influenced the view of white society toward the Indian since the earliest days of contact. Either a nomadic, hostile brute impeding the civilizing process of advancing settlers or a noble, unspoiled child of nature symbolizing freedom for Rousseau and others, the Indian was stereotyped as uncivilized, and mentally, culturally, and religiously inferior to the white. Denied equal status as a person, he could be converted, removed, exploited.

Sometimes early writers stated bluntly that Indians were warlike, crude, lazy, simple, unreliable, or the like; at other times they used words that implied the same moral judgments. When Indians killed whites, it was a "massacre," but whites only "fought" or "battled" Indians. The whites farmed the land, while Indians were depicted essentially as hunters and gatherers. White people are pictured protecting their homes and families from the savage "menace" or "peril." But it is rare to find a description of the Indian defending his life or his homeland against the

ever encroaching white. According to the whites, the westward-moving frontier was the manifest destiny of the white culture, and the Indians gave ground inevitably and deservedly to that superior culture.

This conception has colored the official relationship between the United States government and the Indian societies. During his Second Annual Message in December, 1830, President Andrew Jackson justified his signing of the Indian Removal Act some months previously in the following words:

What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with more than twelve million happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?¹

In 1871, Congress terminated the making of treaties with Indian tribes on the theory that it was degrading for Congress to give equal status to nations of primitive people. Government policy—whether it be the allotment policy legislated in 1887, whereby reservation Indians would be granted private property, or the reservation-termination policy of the 1950's, whereby Indians would be relocated to urban centers—has returned time and time again to the idea of civilizing the Indian by assimilating him into white society.

The image of the savage Indian has been subtly reinforced in other ways. Anthropological literature has concentrated almost totally on aspects of Indian life that could be thought of as "aboriginal" or "native." Anthropologists and ethnologists have tended to present not the dynamic, living, changing complex

¹ Quoted in Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), p. 57.

that is the Indian community under study; but only the more traditional elements in that culture. For example, one of the most often described ethnographic events among Indians in the southwestern United States is the Hopi snake dance. From a survey of available literature, it would be natural for the casual reader to infer that the snake dance is the most significant event in the lives of the Hopi people. Instead, the focus on the snake dance only reflects the fascination that the handling of live rattlesnakes holds for members of the non-Indian culture.²

Popular literature, movies, and television have contributed to the stereotype. Even television documentaries that attempt to present the story of Indian people have inevitably shown little more than the poverty on a few reservations. Although these conditions certainly exist, their exclusive showing tends to label the Indian as someone who is not quite able to survive on his own.

In a recent article, Vine Deloria expressed great concern that at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1972, the Indian activists had resorted to racing around on horseback before the television cameras like warriors of old. Thus the relevant social issues of the protest were lost and the worst suspicions of whites were reinforced at a time when the ancient image of the savage could have been buried once and for all.³

A second lingering misconception is that Indians are a vanishing race. This image, which gained prominence at the beginning of the twentieth century, was captured in James E. Fraser's statue of a bent and battered Indian sitting on an equally forlorn horse, both with heads bowed. According to the title of the statue, this was "The End of the Trail." At about the same time, in 1909, Joseph K. Dixon, working with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, arranged "The Last Great Indian Council." It included 21 representative Indian chiefs, scouts, and warriors, and was intended to be a farewell to a people on the verge of extinction.⁴

On the contrary, however, Indians are increasing in greater numbers than any other group in the United States, although the Indian population decreased dramatically by the end of the last century as a result of warfare, removal, disease, and the destruction of the buffalo. During the last decade, the rate of pop-

ulation growth in Indian communities on or near federal trust land averaged about 2.5 percent, although this figure seems to be tapering off.

Furthermore, the cultures of the native Americans have not withered and died through the process of assimilation. Indian cultures are changing, yet traditional values and institutions live on.

A third mistaken notion is that Indians are all alike. They were not alike in the past, and they are not alike today. There is no such creature as *the American Indian*. As Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle pointed out in their study, *Indians and Other Americans*, "There is no 'Indian language,' no 'Indian religion,' no 'Indian character'—even the racial strain was a mixture of several physical types."⁵

At the time of the first contact between Indians and whites, there was far greater linguistic and cultural diversity in the New World than in Europe. The number of distinct languages depends upon the recognition of what constitutes a separate language. Some 200 languages have been claimed for aboriginal California alone. Anthropologists' estimates range from a conservative 200 to between 600 and 800 as the number of languages in use in the area that was to become the United States.

Besides speaking different languages, tribes varied widely in their philosophies, in their social, political, and religious institutions, and in their practices. Indian governments, for example, ranged from a loose grouping of family groups and village communities among California Indians to the complex Iroquois Confederation of highly organized tribes. The mode of obtaining food or of building homes, of raising children or of burying the dead varied notably from tribe to tribe. What is more, there was considerable diversity within most of the tribes.

Though it may take different forms, Indian cultural pluralism continues. Overlaid on the legacy of distinct tribal traditions is, of course, the reservation-urban dichotomy. Many Indians have moved off the reservations to urban areas. Yet even this distinction is not sufficient to explain the highly complex social-cultural character of the Indian people. Reservations are not all the same. On some reservations, per capita income is no more than a few dollars per year; on others, like the vast Navajo reservation, tribal organization, tourism, industry, government aid, utilization of resources, and so on have provided a fair source of income for much of the Indian population. Indians in the cities, though normally poor, show the same variation.

As a further complication, urbanism is moving onto some reservations. Peter MacDonald, the tribal chairman, has announced the inauguration of a new Navajo nation, with a capital city that will be centered in a reservation as large as the states of Massachusetts,

² See Bernard L. Fontana, "Savage Anthropologists and Unvanishing Indians in the American Southwest." Paper read at the 67th meeting of the American Anthropological Association (unpublished manuscript).

³ Vine Deloria, Jr., "The American Indian Image," *Encyclopedia of Indians of the Americas*, vol. 1, 1974, p. 41.

⁴ See Joseph K. Dixon, *The Vanishing Race: The Last Great Indian Council* (New York: Popular Library, 1972). This book was originally published in 1913.

⁵ Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, *Indians and Other Americans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 14.

Vermont, and New Hampshire combined. MacDonald has indicated that the new state will reflect in all its aspects the character of Navajo culture. Other examples could be cited for what might be termed emerging new states and on-reservation urbanism.

The range and character of Indian organizations is another indication of the intricacy of the Indian community. National organizations include the National Congress of American Indians and the National Tribal Chairmen's Association. Such groups as the American Indian Movement, the National Indian Youth Movement, and numerous university student organizations represent the younger and often more activist elements among native Americans. Particular groups are represented by such organizations as the National Indian Physician's Association, the National Indian Education Association, the National Indian Women's Association, and others. Among the urban Indians, there are some 50 different organizations in the Los Angeles area alone.

A fourth stereotype is the belief that the Indian does not change; he is as unbending in the face of time as he is pictured to be in the face of torture. Indian cultures and societies are examined and understood as they once were, before contact with the white man. Subsequent changes, when they are noted, are attributed not to any internal, creative, adaptive dynamism on the part of the Indian communities but only to a passive acceptance of external relationships with, and influences from, the white culture. The post-contact history of a tribe thus becomes solely the story of Indian response to white stimulus, and there is virtually no account of the recent history of the tribe.⁶

WHO AND HOW MANY?

Who, then, is the Indian? The answer to the question is both simple and complex. It is simple enough to say that an Indian is an individual who can trace his or her origins to the indigenous peoples of America. But to go beyond this involves consideration of a number of different factors.

Ethnologically, must an individual be a full-blooded Indian, or three-quarters, or half? Culturally, how much of the traditional life style or religion must he maintain? Sociologically, must he live on a reservation or, at the least, be enrolled in an Indian community.

In the legal sense, the question of who is an Indian is most important, because of the distinct rights and

obligations of Indian citizens as opposed to non-Indian citizens. For example, an Indian may share in his tribe's land holdings, which may be quite extensive. Yet there is no clear-cut general legal definition of "Indian" in the United States. In each legal case, the question of whether or not an individual is an Indian must be sought in the applicable statutes, administrative decisions, and opinions. As a rule of thumb, however, there are two basic qualifications: (1) that some of the individual's ancestors lived in America before its discovery by the Europeans, and (2) that the individual is accepted as an Indian by the legally constituted Indian community in which he lives.⁷

The legal question actually becomes more social and political than biological. A full-blooded Indian can withdraw from a tribe and thereby, for all legal purposes, cease to be an Indian. On the contrary, an individual with only the most tenuous Indian ancestry can be accepted by the tribe and thus can be legally an Indian. It is interesting to note that a Wyandot tribal roll that was proposed to Congress in the 1930's listed a person with only 1/256 degree of Wyandot blood.⁸

This indicates the importance of two factors operating on a deeply internal, personal level. Does the tribe or community consider the individual to be one of them? Does the individual consider himself to be part of the tribe or community? If an individual has left the reservation or village, how long can he stay away from the ceremonies, festivals, and major moments in the life of his people—that is, how long can he miss his "Indianness"—before either the tribe or the individual decides he no longer belongs? There are some traditionalists who believe that once an individual has left the community—even to take a professional or academic position—he has abandoned his Indianness. This is an extreme attitude, but most groups demand at least periodic contact.

All of this renders perplexing the question of how many Indians there are in the United States. Population estimates vary in accordance with the definition of Indian. Furthermore, accurate demographic figures are extremely difficult to obtain. Some Indians still live in remote areas that are difficult to reach, and many a census taker obtains his information about the numbers, names, and ages of families from a convenient trading post. The fact that an individual Indian may be known under a variety of names is a further hazard.

Bearing these observations in mind, we can note that according to the 1970 census the total number of Indians in the United States was 827,091; they constituted slightly more than 0.4 percent of the country's total population. Unofficial estimates place the Indian population as high as 15 million. It is safe to say that there are several million people in the coun-

⁶ See Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "Indian Americans and United States History," *National Council for Social Studies Yearbook*, 1973.

⁷ See *Federal Indian Law* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), pp. 4-12. *Federal Indian Law* is a revision and updating through 1956 of the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* prepared by Felix S. Cohen and first printed in 1940.

⁸ *Federal Indian Law*, p. 986n2.

try who, according to one or another valid definition, are Indians.

Despite the conservative nature of its population figures, the 1970 census provided interesting data. The state with the largest Indian population was Oklahoma, with 97,731 Indians; this was followed by Arizona (95,812), California (91,018), New Mexico (72,788), and Alaska (51,528). These five states account for almost one-half of the Indian population. The state with the highest percentage of Indian population was Alaska—where Indians constitute more than 17 percent of the total population—followed by New Mexico, Arizona, and South Dakota. A total of ten states have an Indian population that is one percent or more of their total population. These statistics show that, though Indians constitute a small minority of the total national population, they are highly concentrated in the Southwest, Oklahoma, the Dakotas, and Alaska. In these regions, the Indians can be a powerful social and political force.

Of the Indians reported in the census, 37 percent live in "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas." This metropolitan Indian group, however, is less than one-fourth of one percent (.22) of the total metropolitan population in the United States. The Los Angeles-Long Beach metropolitan area has by far the largest Indian population—numbering almost 25,000—followed in order by Tulsa, Oklahoma City, New York, San Francisco-Oakland, Phoenix, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Seattle-Everett, Chicago, and Tucson. According to these figures, Indians have moved in large numbers to metropolitan areas. The reasons for this shift are largely economic. The Indian is attracted by the idea of finding a job and making more money than he can on the reservation.

There are, however, some indications that a "return to the reservation" movement is also taking place. One Gros Ventre Indian, a recent graduate of the University of California at Berkeley who spent some time with the Indian community on Alcatraz, recently reported that perhaps as many as 80 percent of the Indians that he knew in the San Francisco Bay area were returning to their tribal communities. He himself was returning to work toward the establishment of a tribal museum and culture center on his reservation. According to this young man, many Indians who had moved to the urban area had made a fair living, but they were deciding that the violence, the cost of living, the hassle—in short, the quality of life—in the urban environment were not worth it. Even for those who periodically go to the city for a while, the reservation remains a sanctuary to which they can return, a sacred place where they can be at home with their families. According to him, this is something that neither the white, the black, the Puerto Rican, the chicano, nor any other group in the United States has.

If, indeed, non-Indians have been generally misinformed about the Indian peoples, what are some of the steps that might be taken to correct this situation? The following observations may provide some broad guidelines.

The non-Indian has to recognize that there are fundamental differences between the majority white culture and the cultures of the Indian peoples. Many differences could be cited, but the point should be sufficiently made by briefly examining how the two cultures differ in their conception of time, decision making, and being.

To the white culture, time is a regularized object whose symbol is the clock. Our schools, offices, means of transportation, television, and all our institutions are ordered according to arbitrarily established units. We speak of "saving" time, of "wasting" time, or of "spending" time. We pay people for their time rather than for what they do or how well they do it. Punctuality geared to the clock is a virtue and, in fact, a necessity in our highly industrialized society.

Set off against this is natural time, a fluid continuum that is geared to the rising and setting of the sun and to the changes in seasons. It is this sense of time that most Indians—many of whom have been reared in the essentially rural, non-industrialized environment of the reservation—have internalized. Indians joke among themselves about operating "on Indian time." This means, for example, that a community meeting will start this evening sharp. Whether the meeting starts at seven o'clock, eight o'clock, or nine o'clock, it will be held, and it will continue until everyone who wishes has had his or her say.

This leads into the next area of cultural difference. Within the white culture, decision making is based on a concept of authority that is exercised on a vertical plane. Power is exerted by those above on those below. We recognize that some people are more legitimately in power than others; someone makes decisions—usually after a certain amount of discussion or debate—and issues orders that others then act upon.

Authority in the Indian cultures is of a more horizontal nature.
(Continued on page 274)

Robert L. Faherty is the managing editor of the 20-volume *Encyclopedia of Indians of the Americas* and of the single volume *Dictionary of Indians of North America* currently being published by Scholarly Press. He is working with the National Anthropology Archives of the Smithsonian Institution on a training program for Indian tribal historians and archivists. He previously served as associate editor with the new 15th edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, for which he authored several articles, and as the assistant to the editor of the *St. Louis Review*. Active in library affairs, he is editor-in-chief of the *Public Library Trustee*.

"Low Indian income stems from chronic and widespread unemployment, caused in large part by the Indian's lack of skills and a scarcity of employment opportunities on the reservation."

Economics of the Reservation

BY GERALD S. NAGEL

Instructor of English, Borough of Manhattan Community College

The minority poor—Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Spanish-speaking Americans, American Indians—are hired last, paid less and fired first. . . . Of the half-million American Indians, among the hardest hit of this country's poverty stricken, 380,000 who live on or near reservations subsist on average family income one-fourth to one-third of the national average. . . .

The . . . rural poor include . . . 200,000 American Indians, mostly in the West and Southwest. Contrary to earlier expectations, American Indians are not a vanishing group. Their numbers are increasing although health problems, including infant death rates and high rates of infectious diseases, continue to prevail among them.¹

—*Poverty in America* (1965)

THIS SOUNDS LIKE a reasonably good introduction to the staggering problems of economy and health of the American Indian; a discussion of the Indian certainly belongs in a volume called *Poverty in America*, especially in a compendium of 39 scholarly articles. But these paragraphs are not an introduction to the Indian's problems; these few sentences are all that the volume says about them. And in its way this omission helps perpetuate the incredible squalor to which the Indian has been consigned for decades. Other poor Americans hope for better pay, for promotions and for fringe benefits.

* Michael Harrington's acclaimed *The Other America* never mentions the Indian.

¹ Louis A. Ferman, et al., eds. *Poverty in America: A Book of Readings* (Lansing: University of Michigan Press, 1965), pp. 84–85, 105.

² Stephen A. Langone, "A Statistical Profile of the American Indian: The Lack of Numbers," *Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities: A Compendium of Papers Submitted to the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 1.

³ Alan L. Sorkin, "Trends in Employment and Earnings of American Indians," *ibid.*, p. 107.

⁴ I use the most common definition, that of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, which defines Indians as those who declare themselves to be so, which is usually those of a quarter or more Indian "blood." By this count, there are 665,000 (excluding 45,000 Alaskan Indians, Aleutians and Eskimos with whom continental Indians are often grouped), some 55 percent of whom live on reservations, mainly in 23 states west of the Mississippi. Perhaps 500,000 live on or near reservations.

The Indian, meanwhile, suffers from malnutrition and diseases unknown in urban and rural slums, drinks contaminated water, dreams of having a toilet in his hut—and his plight is not reported in books on American poverty.* Instead, when we pay any attention to the Indian, it is to his mythology and mystique:

In the Library of Congress Main Catalog there are—under the heading Indians of North America—12 drawers of cards. Twelve drawers contain approximately 18,000 cards and of this number only 16 cards are under the subheading Statistics and 11 cards are under the subheading Census. Yet under the subheading Pottery and Legends there are 103 for the former and 314 for the latter. Under the subheadings Population and Income there are no cards at all. . . . A person with an interest in the American Indian can get much more information on subjects such as pottery and legends than he can on the income, educational attainment, land, etc. of the American Indian today.²

Scholars, however, bear only moral responsibility; they need financial support in order to conduct the investigations necessary for viable long-range proposals on the Indian's behalf. The government, however, has a legal responsibility, devolving from the scores of treaties that established the reservations with the United States as trustee. Yet their research is not much more thorough:

It should be noted that the statistics maintained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs regarding the socio-economic conditions of Indians are inadequate, not only from the point of view of the research specialist, but with regard to informing the general public about the standard of living of the first American. The information which is available is often not as current as it should be, nor is it tabulated with the same degree of statistical precision which characterizes the work of other governmental agencies. For this reason . . . the data should be interpreted cautiously.³

Furthermore, different bureaus (Indian affairs are incredibly scattered throughout the government maze) use different criteria, have different purposes, and even employ different definitions of who is an Indian, which render even rudimentary findings useless outside the bureau.⁴ The lack of sufficient statistical data, in

short, makes an adequate evaluation of current federal Indian policies almost impossible.

And yet the available figures, even when they are accepted with qualifications, show that the Indian's poverty—in his economy, his living standards and his personal health—is extreme.

DOLLAR INCOME

A 1968 Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) survey of three-fourths of the Indian reservation population disclosed that the average per capita cash income was \$900, below one-third of the 1968 national average. Two-thirds of these Indians lived on reservations where the per capita income was less than \$1,000. The per capita income was equal to or higher than the national average of \$3,420 on only four reservations, with a combined population of less than 2,000, and this included the 115 Agua Calientes, who have owned land in Palm Springs, California, since 1894 and whose per capita income was \$18,225.⁵

A United States Bureau of the Census report released in 1973 showed that median family income for Indians was \$5,832 in 1969, compared to \$9,590 for the general population, and \$6,191 for all minorities. Forty percent of all Indians lived below the poverty level that year, compared to 13.7 percent of the general population.

Studies in 1968 disclosed also that median family income for Indians was \$3,600 and that 60 percent of all Indian families earned \$4,000 a year or less, compared to 14 percent of white families and 36 percent of nonwhite families. Even comparatively wealthy reservations are poor. For the Northern Cheyenne in Montana, family income averaged \$3,600, and at the Salt River Reservation in Arizona family income averaged \$2,325.

Forty percent of the nation's personal income was derived from manufacturing, trade and services but commercial and industrial activity provided only 14 percent of Indian income. Property provided 24 percent of national personal income but only 14 percent of the Indian's income. The Indian depended on government programs for one-third of his income (compared to 15 percent nationally).

And yet the dollar figures represent a continuing percentage increase in income that outpaced that of

the general population—but was dwarfed by dollar increases for others. Thus, from 1939 to 1964, reservation male Indian income increased 390 percent compared to a 248 percent increase for his non-Indian counterpart. But his dollar increase was from \$460 to \$1,800 compared to a dollar increase of \$2,300 to \$5,710 for his non-Indian counterpart, not counting income other than wages and salaries. And from 1959 to 1969, male reservation Indian income doubled; but 76 percent earned \$3,000 a year in 1969 and some families earned as little as \$300 a year.⁶

Reviewing such figures, the United States Commission on Civil Rights noted in 1973 that the Indian was the poorest American; and a prominent journal for blacks said the Indian: "is the most forgotten and mistreated minority in the United States."⁷

UNEMPLOYMENT

Low Indian income stems from chronic and widespread unemployment, caused in large part by the Indian's lack of skills and a scarcity of employment opportunities on the reservation. The 1968 BIA survey mentioned earlier also reported that 42 percent of the employable 356,495 Indians on 113 reservations were unemployed. The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs had previously been advised that a majority of Indians in the Dakotas alone were unemployed, including 2,175 out of 3,400 Pine Ridge Sioux (annual family income, \$105), 1,720 of 2,996 Rosebud Sioux (annual family income estimated at \$1,000 by the government, at \$600 by the Rosebuds), and 500 of 800 Standing Rock Sioux (annual family income, \$190). The unemployment rate for the Choctaws in Mississippi was 86.1 percent, for the Pueblos in New Mexico, 77 percent, and for the Hopis, also in New Mexico, 71.7 percent. The Blackfeet in Montana manifested a "permanent unemployment rate" of 72.5 percent (less than \$500 in annual family income), and the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma, reputed to be oil rich, had a 55 percent unemployment rate and a family income (including oil-lease payments) of \$1,200 a year.⁸ Elsewhere, unemployment rates of 30 to 50 percent were common.

The reservation Indian's unemployment rate is triple that of the work force living near the reservation, and, with rates of unemployment high nearby, there are even fewer opportunities for jobs. Farmers are the major private employers of reservation Indians, providing 64.35 percent of their jobs. But farmers offer only seasonal employment and low pay, many discriminate against Indians in work-force reductions, and provide few fringe benefits.

When the Indians of the reservation are employed their employer is usually the government. On the Papago Reservation, for instance, 30 percent of the permanently employed work for the BIA, and 17 per-

⁵ Sar A. Levitan and Barbara Hetrick, *Big Brother's Indian Programs—With Reservations* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971), p. 11.

⁶ Various census reports and Bureau of Indian Affairs tabulations. The \$300 annual income refers to the Choctaws in Mississippi.

⁷ W. Bruce Welch, "The American Indian (A Stifled Minority)," *Journal of Negro Education*, Summer, 1969, vol. 38, no. 3, p. 242.

⁸ Stan Steiner, *The New Indians* (New York: Harper & Row, Delta ed., 1968), p. 200. The ill, those with young children at home and those in school are not considered in figures on the unemployed here.

ORIGINS OF THE INDIAN'S PLIGHT

The Indian's penury and ill health originated in the nineteenth century after successive Indian military defeats put his fate in his conqueror's hands. A glance at the reservation years will illustrate that his plight is not new, that it has largely been of others' making, and that there is a limited and unsuccessful history of efforts to help.

Three years before the dust had settled at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, where the massacre of Sioux women and children ended the era of Indian military resistance, the government had legalized the theft of Indian lands. The first blow was the Dawes Severalty Act or General Allotments Act of 1887. The stated purpose of the act was to help the Indian by parcelling land to him with full ownership to be his in 25 years. But it also provided that unparcelled land would be declared excess property and would be made available for homesteading. President Grover Cleveland, when presented with the bill, observed: "The hunger and thirst of the white man for the Indian's land are almost equal to his hunger and thirst after righteousness."* Then he signed the bill into law. The effect of the act was to reduce Indian acreage in the 25 years following from 138 million to 56 million. Of the acreage not seized, 14 million acres are "critically eroded," 17 million acres are "severely eroded," and 25 million acres are "slightly eroded."**

In the 25 years after 1887, the Indian's economic status was stabilized at a level of extreme poverty; his population level declined and showed signs of an upturn; and the public became much more sympathetic to his plight. The power of public opinion was demonstrated in the defeat of the Bursham Lands Bill in 1923, which would have given squatters title to land they were occupying, especially that of the Pueblos. In 1928, the Brookings Institution issued its landmark Meriam report. This addressed the severity of the Indian problem and provided much public knowledge of the Indian today, laying the basis for contemporary reservation operation. The report concluded that ill health, poor housing, inadequate real or cash income, and other factors were so interrelated that "causes cannot be differentiated from effects." According to the report, Indian poverty was caused by the destruction of the economic base of the "primitive Indian culture," irrelevance of the Indian's

social systems to modern economic and social conditions, and poor or damaging government policies.

Initially, many observers urged modification of the Indian's social system but included no plans to consult him. But the report's primary impact was its contribution to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the "New Deal for American Indians," which prohibited the future allotment of tribal lands, returned unpreempted land to the Indians, and offered each tribe the option of adopting a written constitution (which most tribes adopted after a referendum). John Collier, Indian Affairs Commissioner from 1933 to 1945, was inspired by the concept of a coordinated attempt to help the Indian in a context of cultural pluralism. He believed that the "beauty and wisdom of Indian traditions could enrich the totality of American culture." But Indians feared that his programs would lead to assimilation, and had heard platitudes before; critics derided him as a romantic; and even those who shared his views thought that New Deal policies were not suited to Indian culture and life styles.

World War II easily overshadowed Indian needs. The administrations of Harry S Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower were marked in Indian affairs by debates about termination, the idea of decentralization of responsibilities for the Indians to the states. Indians vehemently opposed termination and decentralization, fearing taxes and a further loss of land. President John F. Kennedy discarded these plans, and New Frontier optimism rekindled public interest in the Indian and the Indian's faith that his living standards would improve. That faith was expressed in a plea by Indian leaders in 1962 that the federal government should help all Indians "regain in the America of the space age some measure of the adjustment they enjoyed as the original possessors of their native land."

President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration tried to respond to this appeal and its underlying needs, but it may have oversold the Indian on how much of his culture he could retain and his role in allocating federal funds. Scores of Indians stayed up nights drawing up programs that were later rejected without explanation in Washington. President Richard Nixon initially spoke persuasively of the importance of compassion and help for the Indian, but during his tenure Indian funding suffered because of efforts to reduce federal spending, including the impoundment of congressionally authorized allocations. At this writing, President Ford's policies with regard to Indian affairs are not known.

GERALD S. NAGEL

* Peter Farb, *Man's Rise to Civilization as Shown by the Indians of North America from Primeval Times to the Coming of the Industrial State* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1968), p. 256.

** Stan Steiner, *The New Indians* (New York: Harper & Row, Delta ed., 1968), p. 168. Steiner quotes the Branch of Soil Conservation, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

cent are employed at the reservation's Public Health Service Hospital. Overall, the BIA employed an estimated 8,350 Indians full time as of November 30, 1969; the Indian Health Service employed 3,200 full time; and several hundred other Indians worked for the Office of Economic Opportunity or for other units that deal with the reservation Indian. However, the jobs Indians hold in the government tend to pay little; in the rising crest of Indian militancy, stimulated by Indian penury, suit has been brought charging that Indians hold fewer government positions than they are qualified to hold.

The depth of this unemployment pit is illustrated by the negligible impact of the Vietnam War-related economic boom. A dozen electronic plants were established on Indian reservations from 1963 to 1968, and the BIA subsidized on-the-job training by 50 percent, to encourage industry to train and hire Indians. But, by 1968, only 4,100 Indians out of a reservation labor force of 130,000—only three percent—held industrial jobs.

As for assisting those laid off, a study of 19,000 Oklahoma Indians between the ages of 18 and 55 disclosed that 52.6 percent were unemployed and that, of those who had been employed, "well over half received no unemployment insurance or any other welfare insurance whatever."⁹ Of the little money available to the Indian, the Federal Trade Commission has charged that some Indian income is raked off by white merchants, who gouge prices and charge exorbitant interest rates at reservation trading posts.¹⁰

POVERTY AND ILL HEALTH

Poverty spawns squalid living conditions and a multitude of manifestations of ill health. Nowhere is this more tragic in America than among the Indian children from conception to school age. Studies in South Dakota and Arizona specify some of the con-

* Kwashiorkor is a grave nutritional disorder caused by a lack of protein. It is characterized by swelling, anemia, change of hair and skin color, dehydration and diarrhea, and is associated with Africa and people in "strife or warfare" when elemental nutritional care is impossible. Marasmus symptoms are a loss of flesh and strength, a "progressive wasting of body tissues, general malnutrition and intestinal disorder," sunken eyes, malaise and lethargy. Marasmus engenders "an appearance similar to that of gradual starvation." Both are difficult to treat, and marasmus is usually fatal in infants less than six months old.

⁹ Survey for the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, cited in Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁰ The Federal Trade Commission said it found post prices 27 percent higher than the national average and 16.77 percent higher than off-reservation stores. It said interest rates were 60 percent higher than the national average and Indians were often cajoled out of welfare and social security checks by devious practices, *The New York Times*, June 15, 1973, p. 6.

¹¹ Helen M. Wallace, "The Health of American Indian Children," speech to Indian Health Service printed in *Health Services Reports* (formerly *Public Health Reports*), November, 1972, vol. 87, no. 9, pp. 867-878.

sequences of poverty on the health of Indian children. Of 190 Pine Ridge children who were born in 1964 and tested, 40.5 percent had hemoglobin determinations below ten grams, and 15.8 percent had determinations below eight grams before the age of two. In Arizona, at Tuba City Hospital, of 676 Indian children below the age of four discharged during a ten-month period in 1967, 44 suffered from malnutrition, 38 had iron deficiency anemia, 13 under one year manifested marasmus and 8 had incurred kwashiorkor.¹¹ Of 1,591 Indian children five years or older who were discharged, 44 suffered from anemia and 2 from malnutrition. Of 4,335 Indian admissions in a five-year study, 616 suffered from malnutrition, 44 had incurred kwashiorkor or marasmus, and 572 were small for their age. And at Window Rock, Arizona, 20 percent of the Indian children hospitalized evidenced malnutrition and 10 percent of those under four suffered iron deficiency anemia. Ten percent of the Window Rock women tested had iron deficiency anemia, portending the continuation of the cycle.*

The death rate for Indian children under 14 is almost two and one-half times that for all American children under 14, and in every category of medical illness studied for the White House Conference on Children in 1970, Indians (grouped with Alaskan natives) had a higher death rate. As for Indian survival generally, a larger percentage die in their teens, twenties, thirties and forties than is true for the rest of the population, and Indian life expectancy overall is 44 years. But although the Indian must contend with earlier death and more diseases, he has little or no life or health insurance and in most cases is in debt for medical services already rendered.

LIVING CONDITIONS

As for living conditions, from 80 to 95 percent of Indian housing is dilapidated, makeshift, unsanitary and crowded, compared to 8 percent of the homes of the general population. Most homes consist of one or two rooms, constructed as a tar shack, dirt hut, an adobe mud hogan, or a grass wickiup. This housing offers little protection from weather fluctuations; Indians rely on fireplaces or wood-burning stoves for warmth and cooking. "Nothing kills the incentive more than to live day-in and day-out in cramped quarters [of one room] surrounded by a dirt floor, a dirt roof, and sometimes, dirt walls," one observer said. One can appreciate the reasons for an Indian infant mortality rate four times higher than that of the general population, a Public Health Service official remarked, when one visits "the types of housing in which [Indians] live." These are the "skid rows of the plains."

As for running water, most Indians have none on their premises, and what little there is, is often con-

taminated. A Public Health Service survey of 42,506 Indians in 11 western states disclosed that 81.6 percent had to haul their water for "distances of a mile or more." This water is drawn from ponds, ditches, creeks and wells, and 77.8 percent of the water tested was found to be contaminated. Sometimes drinking water was used by livestock or was adjacent to outhouses.

More than half of all reservation Indians have no indoor bathrooms and 45 percent of their outdoor facilities have been judged inadequate by sanitation officials. The Oglala Sioux, for example, who had to haul all their drinking water (all of which was contaminated), had no satisfactory outhouses. Reservation refuse disposal and food sanitation practices are poor. The Public Health Service survey said: "The unsafe water supply is a very common cause of many diseases." And the head of the service's Division of Indian Health said: "It is almost unbelievable that the vast majority of these people do not have any of the modern conveniences that we just take for granted."¹²

Thus it is not surprising that mental illness has emerged as a major Indian disability, with perhaps 25 percent afflicted with ailments that range from major psychoses to personality disorders.¹³ Alcoholism is a sign of this emotional stress, and since many reservations still prohibit the sale of alcohol, Indians travel to nearby towns to drink, and sometimes have automobile accidents on their return.

Percentage improvements in Indian health sound impressive but are minor in the shadow of the enormous problems involved. Tuberculosis incidence, for example, was quartered from 563.2 to 155.7 per 100,000 population from 1965 to 1969, but the overall United States rate was dropping from 60.0 to 19.1 per 100,000 for that period.¹⁴ And the trachoma rate dropped by 47.9 percent from 1966 to 1967, and by seven percent from 1968 to 1969; the BIA reported (but gave no absolute figures), while trachoma is virtually extinct in the rest of the country.¹⁵ Some Indian health care is "more typical of underdeveloped than advanced industrialized societies."

¹² Steiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199. See also Levitan and Hetrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 69 and 85 and Helen W. Johnson, "American Indians in Rural Poverty," Joint Economic Committee compendium, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹³ A. Fahy and C. Muschenheim, "Third National Conference on American Indian Health," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, December 6, 1965, vol. 194, no. 49, pp. 1093-1094.

¹⁴ Department of Health, Education and Welfare, "Illness Among Indians, 1965-69" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, publication no. [HSM] 72-507, July, 1971), p. 18.

¹⁵ Department of the Interior, *The Navajo* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 14.

¹⁶ Frances A. Larken and Anita M. Sandretto, "Dietary Patterns and the Use of Commodity Foods in a Potawatami Indian Community," *Journal of Home Economics*, June, 1970, vol. 26, no. 6, p. 385.

The Indian's progress has also been limited in part by his own character, value system, and philosophy. The Indian's character is passive, deferential, and reflective, an anomaly in a capitalist society. These traits hinder him in off-reservation competition for unskilled jobs, and discourage idealists and businessmen who might otherwise bring employment opportunities to the reservation. They have led some observers to believe mistakenly that the Indian's destitution is of his own making.

Indian values include nepotism and factionalism. Indian beliefs include the Image of Limited Good, that holds that the world's quantity of goods is established and that if any individual acquires too much, he deprives others of their fair share. The Indian's concept of man's inviolable harmony with nature has led him to reject mechanization, and even to refuse special fertilizers and improved seeds. His view that ill health is "a result of disharmony in spiritual life" has discouraged Indian visits to health centers on the reservations and has complicated the obtaining of funds. It has contributed to a gonorrhea rate that has passed one percent of the population and to an alcoholism that has not only caused illness and motor vehicle accidents, but may be symptomatic of the high Indian suicide and homicide rates.

The Indian is reluctant to change. His view of immortality, expressed through the survival of his descendants, contributes to a birth rate that is two and one-half times that of the national population. Each birth leads to a further incursion on limited supplies of food. The Navajo tradition of bottle feeding infants has not been surrendered, even though breast feeding could control marasmus. Commodity food distribution programs in Michigan failed when the Potawatami Indians persisted in choosing carbohydrates and fats over at least some protein foods, and instructed their children to follow suit.¹⁶ The Indian has dissipated energies and opportunities before congressional committees in various feuds, especially the 82-year-old land dispute between the 135,000 Navajos and the 5,000 Hopis. He has resisted acculturation, which he regards as a prelude to assimilation.

The Indian is aware of the inherent conflict between his character, values, beliefs and attitudes, and the character of non-Indians who live in comparative splendor. It is a popular misconception that the Indian, because he is close to nature, is at peace with himself. He suffers psychologically because of his

(Continued on page 278)

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" . . . Indians will continue to understand the conflict between Indians and the rest of society at its deepest level as a religious confrontation."

Religion and the Modern American Indian

BY VINE DELORIA, JR.

Author of God is Red

RELIGION PERMEATES the lives of American Indians today. But its importance to Indian communities is apparently disregarded by people looking for the exotic aspects of Indian existence. Observers of Indian culture have usually looked for certain barbaric traits; when these have not always been present, observers have expressed sharp disappointment at the apparent loss of the valuable beliefs of Indian traditions. This attitude has been puzzling to many Indians because it represents a steadfast refusal on the part of non-Indians to see in changing cultural and technical institutions the eternal values that sustained Indian tribes for many centuries.

People educated in the Western European religious tradition have come to regard religion as a set of propositions to which believers must give at least intellectual assent and to which they will hopefully orient their daily lives. Little emphasis has been placed by Westerners on the nature of religious experience (outside the Pentacostal branch of Christendom); consequently, their ceremonies have long since lost experiential content. With such a past, Westerners have generally dismissed the ceremonials of Indian religion as pagan practices that accomplish little and tend to perpetuate superstitions better forgotten.

The important aspect of Indian tribal religions, however, has been their insistence on developing and maintaining a constant relationship with the spiritual forces that govern the lives of humans. As ceremonies have lost their content, with the changing of life styles, they have been forgotten or abandoned. The recent efforts of Indian activists to reclaim tribal ceremonies have highlighted the dilemma of today's religious Indian. A traditional Indian finds himself still experiencing the generalized presence of spiritual forces; at the same time he finds himself bound by the modern

technology of communications and transportation, which speed his world far beyond its original boundaries.

Of modern Indian tribes that maintain a traditional religious life the Pueblos stand out as the most consistent and persistent of the nation's Indian groups in continuing their old ways.¹ Pueblo life still revolves about the ceremonial year, and although most Pueblos are employed in modern jobs that require a thorough knowledge of the white man's world, they cling to the religious ways that have served them for countless generations. The Pueblos block off all roads leading to their towns and villages at ceremonial time. Although they apparently allow non-tribal members to observe their festivals, in reality they allow outsiders—both white and Indian—to view only those aspects of the Pueblo religion that can be known by people outside the Pueblo.

The Hopis are one of the most traditional of the old Pueblo people,² although the Taos people are also rigorous in their adherence to tribal ways.³ In recent years, the Hopi stand on non-violence, which goes back many centuries, has attracted white people of similar persuasion. But when the whites have arrived at the Hopi villages, ready to be embraced with open arms, they have often been rebuffed. The Hopis do not believe that because people understand common philosophical propositions they have anything else in common.

The most persistent problem of the Hopi and other Pueblo people is the degree of adaptation that will be allowed inside the villages. Often the conflict is framed in practical terms, such as the question of allowing refrigerators inside the village. Younger people, having attended Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools, are accustomed to having cold milk to drink, but a pueblo without refrigerators precludes the preservation of foods and drinks that are dependent upon cold. The conflict is sometimes heated and represents a challenge of no small proportion to traditional Indians. Does one forsake a philosophical and religious tradition in which things "happen" for the sake of bodily comfort?

¹ See Alfonso Ortiz, *The Tewa World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1969).

² Frank Waters, *Book of the Hopi* (New York: Viking Press, 1963).

³ An excellent discussion of the Taos traditionalism is offered by Frank Waters, *The Man Who Killed the Deer* (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1942).

Tradition is also strong among the Navajo, particularly with respect to healing ceremonials. The Navajo religion is deeply philosophical and ceremonially complex, and the Navajo medicine men still practice the ancient rites of healing for a surprising number of the tribe. The first reaction of the United States Public Health people to the Navajo medicine men was rejection and was based on cultural prejudices rather than on any profound knowledge of the Navajo religion. In recent years, this prejudice has broken down as whites have learned about the Navajo religion and customs; a program to train medicine men now forms an important part of the health program on the reservation.⁴ Medicine men and white doctors often work together successfully to heal Indians who have complex health problems.

The Apache groups of Arizona and New Mexico also adhere rigorously to their traditions. Ceremonies are the most serious part of their community life; the Crown Dancers often perform at pow-wows and rodeos, but they also have a strong religious function within the tribe. The Apache people have an amazing sense of solidarity; they do not share their songs, secular or religious, with other Indian groups, because they do not want the songs profaned by people who would not understand their meaning to the Apache.

The Iroquois of New York state and Canada also maintain a very strong sense of tribal solidarity although some of them follow the very ancient long-house ceremonies while others follow the Handsome Lake teachings that originated as a reform movement in the first part of the nineteenth century.⁵ Their ceremonies require both the use of masks and sacred wampum belts and the recitation of tribal legends and histories. The Iroquois are troubled by the intrusion of non-Indians in Iroquois religious practices. For some reason, anthropologists have taken it upon themselves to criticize the present practitioners of the long-house as failing to maintain the religion in its primitive purity. Their attitude is probably based on the necessity to maintain scholarly reputations rather than on an intimate knowledge of Iroquois religious ceremonies.

⁴ Information on this program can be obtained from the United States Public Health Service, Indian Health Service, Washington, D.C.

⁵ Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970).

⁶ There are many books on the Sun Dance. From the Indian viewpoint probably the most accurate is *The Sacred Pipe*, which recounts the teachings of Black Elk, a Sioux medicine man, recorded and edited by Joseph Epes Brown (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953).

⁷ R. Pierce Beaver will have an excellent article on Christian missions in the *Handbook of North American Indians*, to be published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1976.

⁸ The Center for the Study of Man of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., has had observers at each of these meetings and has all the relevant materials on this movement.

The tribes of the northern plains have reinstituted their traditional Sun Dance after many decades of its prohibition by the government. The Sun Dance involves the piercing of the flesh of the dancers and their fasting and enduring considerable pain.⁶ Because of these elements, the Sun Dance has in recent years attracted all kinds of sensation-seekers who come to the dance merely to view the unusual. As a result, the seriousness of the ceremony has been overshadowed by the obvious publicity-generating aspect of brutality. This popularization may eventually result in the destruction of the religious aspect of the dance; within our lifetimes it may become little more than a tourist attraction.

Christianity has made gigantic inroads into many tribes because of the nearly 60 years, from the 1880's to the 1940's, when the native religions were prohibited by the government. During this time, Christian denominations were given a free hand in gathering converts on the reservations; at one time the churches merely divided up the various reservations among those groups that desired to proselytize tribal members. Such allocations are no longer made and today competition among various missionary societies on reservations is accompanied by peripheral conflict of a religious nature that intrudes into the social, political and economic life of the tribes.

The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma—the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Seminole and Chickasaw—adopted Christianity very early (in comparison to other tribes), and they have a very strong membership in the Baptist and Methodist denominations. Among these tribes the tradition of native leadership is well established, and they have produced outstanding preachers and teachers. In general, the Five Civilized Tribes tend toward fundamentalism in their theology and resemble the rural churches of Appalachia and the Deep South.⁷ The Five Civilized Tribes are not wholly Christian, however, and medicine men and women still perform their healings and ceremonies in the traditional communities. Considering the national rate of Indian acculturation, one might suggest that the Five Civilized Tribes have reached a proportion of traditional versus Christian religious beliefs that all other tribes will eventually approximate: 80 percent Christian, and 20 percent traditional.

About five years ago a movement began in Canada to assemble the native Christian ministers and the traditional medicine men to discuss how religious conflict might be avoided between the two distinct religious paths being taken by Indians. This movement came to be called the "ecumenical movement," and, while conferences have been held in various parts of the United States and Canada, the movement seems to have settled in Alberta at Morley in the past several summers.⁸ The conference seems to have attracted as many observers as religious leaders, and it is pos-

sible that the movement has bogged down because observers demand more and more spectacular speeches and beliefs on the part of the participants.

In some aspects, Indian religions have taken a militant edge; medicine men have been present at some of the dramatic protests of the past several years. Medicine men were present during the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in November, 1972, and many Sioux medicine men supported the Wounded Knee protest in 1973.⁹ During negotiations to end the Wounded Knee occupation, religious ceremonies were held. The emphasis placed by the protesters on the occupation indicates that it was as much a religious protest as a political event.

NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

One of the most attractive pan-Indian religious movements is the Native American Church, which uses the peyote in its ceremonies.¹⁰ The Native American Church incorporates some aspects of Christian belief in its teachings, but its major ceremonies are of pre-Columbian origin, coming from the desert southwest into the plains and Great Lakes area in post-Columbian times. For several decades in this century, the Native American Church was very controversial, but as the religious attitudes of the government and the major missionary denominations have become more flexible and mature, the conflict has largely subsided.¹¹

The books about Don Juan, the Yaqui medicine man, have been very popular among young non-Indians; many of them assume that the religious and philosophical ideas of these books are incorporated in the beliefs and practices of most tribal religions. Indians have tended to shy away from the Don Juan books because the books do not present ideas that are immediately familiar in a tribal context. It is very difficult, after reading the books, to determine the degree to which their ideas relate to any particular tribal religion, but the specific content of the various tribal religions apparently precludes the generalizations made in the Don Juan series. Still, in terms of abstract ideas, the tribal religions may not be in conflict with the books if only the philosophical nature of statements about the world is considered.

Western religions concentrate on the idea of history

and what it has revealed to human beings about the nature of God. Both the Christian and Jewish religions are dependent on the recitation of historic events and their interpretation as the means of determining the validity of their beliefs. With the development of the social programs of the past decade, many Indian tribes have begun to write their own history, and, while this history is not cloaked in wholly religious terms like the Christian and Jewish theologies, still some tribes have insisted on including tribal religious legends as an integral part of their tribal histories. One might view this development as necessary for the reformation of tribal society, except that many Indian tribes today are affected by past events that were primarily legal rather than cultural. The placing of several tribes on one reservation, for example, led to their political merger, but in many instances their cultural and linguistic identities have been preserved. A tribal history of the tribes on the reservation, therefore, would not be a history comparable to either the Christian or Jewish traditions.

THE SACRED LANDS

In the southwest, among the eastern Iroquois, and in some areas of the northern plains, the ceremonial life of the Indian tribes has apparently survived efforts to stifle it; it remains a viable alternative as a religious tradition. Of much more importance than ceremonies or specific practices is the fact that the old view of the world that arose from the tribal traditions still survives; this attitude toward life and toward peoples who are outside the tribal fold has very important implications for the contemporary Indian.

Almost every tribal religion was based on land in the sense that the tribe felt that its lands were specifically given to it to use. The proceedings of treaty councils are filled with protests and declarations by Indians to the effect that lands cannot be sold since no human has the power or right to own them. Some of the old chiefs felt that, because generations of their ancestors had been buried on the lands and because the sacred events of their religion had taken place on the lands, they were obligated to maintain the tribal lands against new kinds of exploitation. The famous Nez Perce war began because white settlers invaded the Wallowa Valley in eastern Oregon and because Chief Joseph's father had made the young chief promise never to sell the lands in which his ancestors lay buried.¹²

In the southwest, where there were few treaties because of Mexico's prior claim to the area (a claim recognized by the United States and assumed by the Americans following the Mexican War), the sacredness of lands has been even more important than it was elsewhere on the continent. Especially among the Pueblos, Hopi and Navajo, the lands of the creation and emergence traditions are easily identified and are

⁹ *Akwesasne Notes*, a newspaper published by traditional Mohawks at Rooseveltown, New York, is now publishing its own book on Wounded Knee, which details some of the religious ceremonies held during the occupation.

¹⁰ A standard history of the Native American Church and other aspects of the religion are contained in Weston La Barre, *The Peyote Cult* (New York: Schocken Books, 1959).

¹¹ Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971).

¹² Alvin Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

regarded as places of utmost significance.¹³ Much of this land cannot be commercially exploited but is held by the government in large tracts for national parks and forests. Government officials have ruthlessly disregarded the Indians' pleas for the restoration of their most sacred lands, and the constant dispute between Indians and whites centers around this subject.

Many younger Indians feel the moral outrage of the government confiscation of tribal lands, although they do not necessarily understand the implications of a tribal religious attachment to them. The occupation of Wounded Knee, for example, was triggered by a deep ethical outrage on the part of many of the Sioux, but the place itself was not originally sacred to the tribe. Historic events—the original massacre and the succeeding decades of government exploitation of the Oglalas—had made the site one of the most revered places of the Sioux people. One can see in this attitude an evolution of the concept of sacred lands from the original conception of sacred places as sites where religious revelations had taken place to sites of deep historic significance, sanctified by immediate past events.

Another dimension of tribal religions that has carried over into this century is the Indian emphasis on hospitality. The traditional assumption that people are not naturally malevolent and that they intend to deal honestly ran very strong in most tribes. Treaty documents clearly show that, while the United States was busy perpetrating outrageous frauds upon the tribes, Indian spokesmen were clinging to the belief that white people were only trying to help them. The incredible traditional naïveté of tribal leaders in dealing with the government has survived almost intact, in spite of a startling series of betrayals that would severely tax the patience of other groups.

MODERN EMPHASIS

Today, the emphasis in the western states is on the development of energy resources, and western tribes hold massive deposits of coal and own a great deal of water on major rivers. Pressures have built up for rapid, total development of Indian resources, and the federal government, which is supposed to protect Indian resources from unfair exploitation, leads the groups seeking to force the development of tribal assets. While there is a great deal of resistance on the part of young activists against the further ruination of tribal lands, the elected tribal leaders themselves seem unable to understand that the government is not their friend. Too often, they fail to protect tribal assets because they are led astray by government officials who appear to be looking out for their interests. It is a sad commentary on contemporary life that although the foremost enemy of the Indians is their federal trustee,

tribal leaders still believe in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The awakening of younger Indians to the positive aspects of tribal culture in the last decade has created a significant demand for the restoration of traditional religious ceremonies. Indian religions are now seen as value systems that have been preserved from intrusions by whites. In some instances, this preservation can be demonstrated, particularly by those tribes in the southwest that have already been discussed. In a number of other tribes, the recorded observations made by scholars about the nature and substance of the old religion seem to be very important. The Black Elk books of John Niehardt and Joseph Epes Brown are popular among the Sioux, and Frank Water's work on the Hopi and Pueblo peoples is widely read. Many ideas currently popular among younger Indians derive from these books rather than from the traditional teachings.

Perhaps the most important future movement is being developed by the Indians of the Joint Strategy and Action Committees of the major Protestant denominations. They are making a significant effort to bring the old teachings to bear on modern problems in a Christian context. Foremost among the leaders of this movement is the Reverend Cecil Corbett, director of the Cook Christian Training School in Tempe, Arizona, who has taken the lead in establishing short courses and seminars at the school to combine traditional Indian beliefs and the modern Christian social gospel.

This combination of philosophies seems to be the best meeting ground for ancient beliefs and modern concepts of social reform. Perhaps the old antagonisms that revolved around the proselytizing of converts away from the tribal religions will finally be laid to rest as this movement takes hold.

One cannot project the future because of the very high tension in the various activist protests that have included traditional religious activity. The degree of political polarization in the national Indian movement is immense, and traditionalists are seen as primarily activist oriented. This is a complete reversal of their former role, when they represented the most conservative elements in the tribes. Even the most learned observers are puzzled. Perhaps the only certainty is that Indians will continue to understand the conflict between Indians and the rest of society at its deepest level as a religious confrontation. ■

Vine Deloria, Jr., a lawyer, is a member of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe. He is the author of *God is Red* (New York: Grosset & Dunlop, 1973), *Of Utmost Good Faith* (New York: Bantam, 1972), *We Talk You Listen* (New York: Macmillan, 1970) and *Custer Died for Your Sins* (New York: Macmillan, 1969).

¹³ I attempted to cover some of these sacred places in my book, *God Is Red* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1973).

"Indians in communities where there is an organized Indian government . . . may be citizens, in effect, of four different governments: their tribal government, local or city government, state government, and the federal government. This phenomenon results in a maze of relationships."

American Indians and Their Governments

BY THEODORE W. TAYLOR

Former Deputy Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs

IN THE UNITED STATES, Indians are citizens, and have the same rights, duties, and responsibilities to local, state and federal governments as do all citizens.¹ Nonetheless, several conditions may modify an Indian citizen's relationship to the government: (1) the current existence of a reservation, generally established before the territory became a state; (2) still applicable provisions of treaties; (3) special federal and state statutes applying to Indians as an ethnic group, such as substantive statutes relating to Indian education and administration of trust land and statutes appropriating funds specifically for Indian programs or services; (4) recognition of some Indians as eligible for "Indians only" federal services, usually based on (1), (2) and (3) above and generally related to Indian land held in trust by the federal government.

Indians (including Aleuts and Eskimos in Alaska) constitute less than one-half of one percent of the total

population of the United States. Of the 827,000 Indians recorded in the 1970 census,² 477,000 were in Indian areas (on or near reservations and recognized as eligible for Indian services by the federal government). Over 42 percent were not so recognized by the federal government and were subject to governmental programs in the same manner as other citizens except for those few on state Indian reservations.³

The descendants of many of the Indians in the original 13 states such as the Creeks in Alabama, Mohegans in Connecticut, Nanticokes in Delaware, Wampanoags at Mashpee in Massachusetts, Narragansets in Rhode Island, Chickahominy in Virginia, and Lumbees in North Carolina are among those Indians with no special relationship to the federal government. The over 30,000 Lumbees in North Carolina cannot be traced to a specific historical tribe but are recognized as Indians. Other examples across the country are the Yaquis in Arizona, Miamis in Indiana, Wyandots in Kansas, Houmas in Louisiana, Passamaquoddys in Maine, and Metis in Montana.

In addition to these groups that have no relationship based on ethnic origin to the federal government, many Indians have migrated from rural areas, including federal reservations, to urban areas. In 1970, approximately 308,000 Indians (37 percent of the total in the United States census) lived in "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas."⁴ These Indians are citizens of their metropolitan areas. They have the same rights to metropolitan government services as any other residents and the same obligations to vote, to pay taxes, and otherwise to participate in community life. Those urban-dwelling Indians having membership in a tribe recognized by the federal government are eligible for certain benefits through their reservation, e.g., health care, education, management of land held in

¹ The provisions of the United States Constitution have been interpreted as giving the federal government full power over Indians. There is logic, too, in the opposite view that the Congress has no constitutional power over Indians "except what is specifically conferred by the commerce clause and implied in other clauses of the Constitution." See Office of the Solicitor, *Federal Indian Law* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1958), p. 24.

² The census counted only those as Indian who identified themselves as Indian or were considered Indian by their community. Nancy Ostreich Lurie estimates there are approximately 10 million people in this country with some Indian blood.

³ For a list of state reservations see Theodore W. Taylor, *The States and Their Indian Citizens* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 226.

⁴ Less than one-fourth of one percent of the total metropolitan population. "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas" with 500 or more Indians as of 1970 are listed by states in *ibid.*, p. 82.

trust—but in general they must return to the reservation to take advantage of such benefits.⁵

Indians on state reservations have some special relationships to state and local governments. In New York for the Iroquois, in Maine for the Passamaquoddy and Penobscott, and in Virginia for the Mattaponi and Pamunkey, for example, the states provide for elementary and secondary education either directly through the provision of schools (as in Maine for some of the Indian children) or through payments to county or local public schools for the Indians' tuition and school books; the states do this in Maine (for some), in New York and in Virginia. All three of these states operated schools on the reservations in earlier times. State reservation land is not taxed in any state, and in some instances this may be the only economic benefit of the reservation to the Indians. However, the state reservation for the Miccosukee in Florida is relatively large for the number of Indians involved and has economic potential. Texas is promoting active economic development programs based primarily on tourism for the Alabama-Coushattas and the Ysleta Tiguas. The tribes and the state hope these programs will enable the two groups to be economically self-sufficient within a few years.

Most Indians in the United States are still in the federally recognized category, generally members of tribes located on federal reservations.⁶ Federal recognition is based on treaty, statute, other agreement and precedent. Except for the Lumbees of North Carolina, most larger Indian groups are federally recognized and are eligible for special services and programs. Many small groups, like the owners of small rancherias in California, are also eligible for such services even though some of them have very little in the way of group organization. Eligible for special services because they are Indians are such tribes and groups as the Navajos, Eskimos, Aleuts, Athabascans, various Sioux groups, various Apache groups, Blackfeet, Crows, various Ute groups, Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Colvilles, Warm Springs, and many others.

Most federally recognized groups have tribal governments. These governments may be largely traditional in their operation and structure, like the tribal governments of many of the Pueblos, or they may be based on non-traditional forms of government, like the government of the Oglala Sioux on the Pine Ridge

Reservation. Some of the internal struggles in these communities result from the adoption of non-traditional forms of government and the residual pressures of traditional and religious influences. The basic cleavage in many Indian communities is much deeper than government structure, however. As in other communities, varying views on tradition and change make it difficult to obtain a consensus. In Indian communities, the change may be drastic, because Indian values are frequently at odds with the acquisitive materialistic mores of the non-Indian society. Indians comprise such a small percentage of the nation's population that outside pressures for change are powerful and continuous.⁷ In summary, Indians in communities where there is an organized Indian government (which can levy taxes, pass ordinances, provide law and order, regulate domestic relations, regulate economic enterprises, and the like) may be citizens, in effect, of four different governments: their tribal government, local county or city government, state government, and the federal government. This phenomenon results in a maze of relationships.

Indian governments deal as entities with the state governments, with the federal government, and with the private sector, for example, in establishing an economic enterprise on the reservation, like an electronics plant. Indian citizens as individuals may receive services from and participate in their tribal governments, nearby local governments, state governments, and the federal government. For example, most of the groups are provided with education through a local school district organized under state law. In other instances, the children may attend a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) school. Indians are subject to federal income taxes and other laws, and to exclusive jurisdiction by federal courts over enumerated major crimes; they are entitled to welfare benefits under federal statutes of general application, such as aid to dependent children under the Social Security Administration through the states. Indians are subject at the state level to state health laws and state real property taxes on non-trust property; they are subject to all state laws when they are not on the reservation. As individual citizens they can enter into contracts and purchase goods in the private sector like everybody else.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

Native groups in North America had their own governments prior to English, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Russian invasions. Community governance was generally based on kinship, but the social, political, and religious institutions of different groups varied widely. Clan, village, and pueblo forms were frequently involved. What is now the United States, including Alaska, was sparsely populated. Estimates vary, but approximately one million Indians may have

⁵ However, this is not always the case. It may not be necessary for such Indians to return for higher education grants or to assure continued management of their trust land, for example. Urban Indians are discussed in more detail in another article in this issue of *Current History*.

⁶ For a list of federally recognized groups see Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 233ff.

⁷ Indian culture and philosophy is the subject of another article in this issue.

inhabited what is now the United States in the fifteenth century. Thus, there was considerable freedom for the various bands and groups to roam without interfering with each other.

However, part of the culture and governance of many groups related to the "war" function. One of the marks of a man was to be a warrior. Another was to be a successful hunter. Indian warfare was a fact of life before the invasions. One of the reasons for the Iroquois Confederation, formed about 1570, was to eliminate war among the Iroquois and to create a formidable force against other groups.⁸ The Iroquois practically decimated the Hurons in 1649. Other tribes were defeated in quick succession.

A lucrative fur trade was one of the magnets for the invaders. This, along with colonization and the development of farming and industry, put pressure on the nomadic hunting groups' animal resources. The Indians, in general, participated willingly in the fur trade to obtain axes, guns, jewelry, and alcohol among other things. Along with the occupation of the land by non-Indians, the reduction in the animal population of the east coast tended to encourage the Indians to move westward in search of game and to maintain some distance from the new settlements of non-Indians.

Another cultural factor in the interface between the Indian and the non-Indian was a different concept of land use. To the Indian, the land was free. If one group was not using an area, there was no problem in another group using it. There were difficulties when one Indian tribe invaded another group's accustomed territory currently in use. This often occurred as the Indians moved westward.

The non-Indians, especially the English, tended to think of individual land ownership in terms of specific boundaries. This was natural for an agriculture-oriented economy. This cultural difference made it easy for the non-Indians to obtain agreement for the use of land, but there was probably no real meeting of the minds or understanding of each other by the participants in early negotiations. This, of course, resulted in disagreements and conflict.

During the establishment of the non-Indians in settlements, the Indians at first were of considerable assistance. Later, any attempts to dislodge the invaders were usually disastrous to the Indians; witness the fate of the Powatan uprising. The technology and organization of the non-Indians made such contests uneven.

TWO POLICIES

Two basic and apparently conflicting Indian policies

⁸ Wayne Moquin and Charles Van Doren, eds., *Great Documents in American History* (New York: Praeger, 1973), p. 20 ff. for text of the Iroquois constitution.

⁹ Taylor, *op. cit.*, footnote 21, p. 11.

were followed by the federal government over the years. One aimed at assimilation and the other at the separation of Indians and non-Indians. A deeper goal, especially after complete separation became unrealistic, has been to help Indians become self-sufficient in the greatly modified environment in which they find themselves.

The early colonists believed that their culture was superior, and they expected the Indians to adopt it willingly. The education of the Indians was included in the objectives of Harvard College (1650), the College of William and Mary (1691), and Dartmouth College (1769). Some colonists tried to enslave the Indians. Since the Indians in general did not take kindly to becoming like white men, and since they resisted slavery, there was uncertainty and conflict. Subsequently, the policy of separation or removal was invoked, facilitated by the decimation of game. However, in Georgia, where the Cherokees had absorbed many non-Indian ways and were successful farmers, they were also removed to so-called "Indian country" as a matter of national policy because of conflicting commitments on the part of the United States to the state of Georgia and the Indians,⁹ the hunger for land, and the discovery of gold. It was believed that there were enough resources for the Indians farther west and that they could handle their own affairs and avoid conflicts with the whites if they were separated. But the removal policy was doomed because of the ever westward movement of the non-Indians.

The gold rush, starting in 1849, and the stimulus of the Civil War to the railroads resulted in an increasing white invasion of Indian territory that eventually reached the Pacific coast. Indians objected. Their game was being destroyed (witness the voracious slaughter of the buffalo); their way of life was threatened. Sporadic Indian wars ensued, with attacks on wagon trains and frontier settlements.

The westward movement of the white settlers thus sabotaged the goals of the removal policy. The reservation system was a modification of the separation policy. Instead of moving Indians to "Indian country," they were to be located in specific areas. It was hoped that the reservation device would protect Indians from frontiersmen and that the free movement of non-Indians outside the reservations could be promoted without the danger of Indian attack.

The history of the interface between the Indians and the non-Indians indicates that the British, Spanish, and United States governments realized that Indians needed protection from invasion by frontiersmen. Indian country had no specific boundaries and no fences, and was very sparsely inhabited. What was to prevent a pioneer from staking out a plot of ground and establishing a farm by brutal toil? Nothing. In most cases he probably did not know where he was eligible to settle. Or he may have bargained

with the nearest tribe for his plot of ground. The government could not police settlement effectively.

Even after the establishment of reservations, large blocs of land were unused by the Indians, and the same problem was repeated. When it became known that settlers or ranchers were operating within reservation boundaries and the superintendents or the army tried to force their removal, the federal government generally sided with the white settlers. There was a cultural factor involved: non-Indians tended to view the non-use of land as an economic waste. If the Indians were not using it, the non-Indians reasoned that people who would use it should have it.

Over time, the relations between the Indians and various American government agencies changed.¹⁰ At first, the non-Indians coming to this country dealt with Indian tribes as sovereign units. Non-Indians extended the "protection" of the crown and regarded Indians as subjects. So the sovereignty of the tribes was limited, especially since the tribes proved incapable of defending their frontiers and preventing interference by either the non-Indian governments or non-Indian individuals.

However, treaty making, normally a transaction between two sovereign groups, was the accepted way of defining relationships between the new United States government and the Indians. Thus relationships were defined by individuals—by treaty commissioners, superintendents of Indian affairs in various jurisdictions (often the territorial governors), and officers of the War Department. The contact was between government representatives—Indian and non-Indian. The federal government did not interfere with the internal affairs of the tribes.

As the new revolutionary United States government expanded and the general removal of the Indians to areas west of the Mississippi gave way to the policy of specific reservations, the whole economic, social, and political spectrum was affected. Limited to reservations, without sufficient game, and forbidden to war with traditional enemies, Indians could not continue in their traditional ways. Rations were issued to many tribes in lieu of adequate game. The beliefs that Indians should be left to shift for themselves and that there was no need for the federal intervention were shattered by economic and political realities.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), established in the War Department in 1832 and transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1849, shared with the War Department the responsibilities for dealing with

Indians for much of the nineteenth century. Some Indian agents in the early days were army officers. Policy conflicts existed between the military and Indian agents in many instances, and when they acted independently and on contrary policies, chaos reigned.

Over the years, it became evident that Indian sovereignty had become severely limited, and in 1871, Congress stopped the treaty process. Thereafter congressional legislation enunciated federal Indian policy.

The establishment of reservations and the cessation of the treaty process marked the beginning of a period in which the Indian agency became much more involved in the internal affairs of the tribes. Rations, at first given to the Indian chiefs to distribute to tribal members, were later distributed to individual Indians by agency personnel. Treaties had sometimes specified that the federal government would provide schooling, but most early efforts toward Indian education were made by religious organizations. However, over time, schools tended to be operated by agency staff.

It was obvious that the non-farming Indians could not support themselves by hunting, since the game was gone and they were limited to their reservations. Efforts were made to teach Indians agriculture and related frontier arts. Farmers, blacksmiths and teachers were assigned to the agencies to aid in instruction. The federal government took the responsibility for adjudicating major crimes and, in large measure, took over the policing function in reservation Indian communities.

When it became evident that without considerable assistance the tribal groups could not compete economically or politically with the non-Indian governments and the society surrounding the reservations, the philosophy of assimilation again came into prominence, and a drive for the "civilization" of the Indian was launched. A high point in this effort was the Allotment Act of 1877, which provided for allotting reservation lands to individual Indians.¹¹ The idea was to give each Indian a tract of land and teach him how to use it—through farming or grazing—so that he could become economically self-sufficient like his non-Indian neighbors. President Grover Cleveland initiated the policy of allotting land only on reservations where Indians were generally in favor of allotment. (Most land now in Indian trust status is unallotted tribal land.)

In those instances in which the land was allotted, the Indian agent and his staff dealt directly with each individual Indian allottee on the use of his land, the education of his children, the handling of the lease or sale of land. The agent also banked the Indian's income, provided law and order, and in general became "the government" for that Indian. Attempts were made to stamp out Indian religious and other cultural practices that stood in the way of "civilization" as viewed by the white man. As a result, for

¹⁰ The federal mechanisms used from the time of the Articles of Confederation through the early period of our new revolutionary government (such as geographical Indian departments, the War Department, the factory system and superintendents of Indian trade) are described by Tyler. See S. Lyman Tyler, *A History of Indian Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 32 ff.

¹¹ 24 Stat. 388.

many traditionally roaming and hunting tribes, the Indian agency became the dominant government in their lives.

Pueblo and farming groups and some subsistence fishing groups were not affected to the same extent. Neither were those reservations that were not allotted. Most of the compact pueblo groups did not receive allotments; thus their land was communally owned and operated, and traditional Indian religious and governmental practices survived in a much stronger position.

However, whether the land was tribally or individually owned, as trustee the Secretary of the Interior controlled the cutting and marketing of timber, the lease or sale of land, and the grazing of land. He advised on agricultural and grazing practices, provided irrigation funds and built irrigation works, built power lines and operated power plants, and built and maintained roads.

But in spite of the attempts to "civilize" and remake Indians into non-Indians, Indian ways persisted. Perhaps because of enforced acculturation the Indians were slower to change than they might have otherwise been.

The landmark Meriam report of 1928 recommended a reversal of the enforced acculturation syndrome and urged that the government work with the Indians and build upon their culture.¹² The underlying objective was the same—to help Indians become self-sufficient in their changing environment. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (IRA) dramatized this reversal of philosophy.¹³ The allotment of land to individual Indians was stopped and the purchase of land for Indians was authorized. Indian self-government was encouraged. More than one-half the tribes adopted constitutions under the provisions of the IRA and similar acts passed in Oklahoma and Alaska.

Under the stimulus of the IRA philosophy, the depression, and the growing social consciousness of white society, various services for federal Indian reservation residents expanded rapidly through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. After World War II, Indians began to demand education. Many, especially in the largest tribe, the Navajo, had formerly resisted non-Indian education. The BIA did a remarkable job in a crash program of providing additional facilities and teachers to the Navajos in the 1950's.

In terms of persons served, personnel employed, fa-

cilities maintained and operated, and funds expended, the largest program of the BIA is education. Even so, only 26 percent of the children of federally eligible Indians are in BIA schools; most of the rest attend public schools.¹⁴

THE CURRENT SITUATION

In general, Indians have the same legal rights under our constitution and statutes as other citizens. As drafted by our forefathers, the constitution provided that Indians would not be counted to determine state representation unless they paid taxes, in which case they would be counted as three-fifths of a person.¹⁵ This discriminatory provision has been negated by treaty and Indians are recognized by statute as full-fledged citizens of the United States.

Today, Indians can vote in the county, city and state in which they reside. This has not always been so. The last state to grant Indians full voting rights was New Mexico in 1962.¹⁶

Indians living on tax-exempt land, i.e., individual and tribal land held in trust by the Secretary of the Interior, are not subject to local or state real estate taxes. Most land owned by Indians in federal Indian reservations is in trust. In many instances, too, Indians living on a federal reservation are not subject to state or local laws while they are on the reservation. Thus an Indian on the Navajo reservation can vote for state and county officials, and may be elected himself, and participate in making laws or levying taxes not applicable to himself but applicable to others. Some would say this is a "preferred" or "special" position. It was on this basis, in part, that some states were reluctant to grant voting rights to reservation residents.

FEDERAL OBLIGATIONS

Many federal obligations to the Indian have disappeared. Sixty-eight percent of the education of federally eligible Indian children is in the hands of the states. Law and order, and road construction and

(Continued on page 275)

Theodore W. Taylor joined the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1950 and was Deputy Commissioner from 1966 to 1970. For seven years, he served as Assistant to the Secretary, Smithsonian Institution. His book, *The States and Their Indian Citizens* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), was completed while he was a Federal Executive Fellow with the Brookings Institution (1970-1971). As Executive Officer for the Office of Territories and Island Possessions from 1946 to 1950 he came in contact with native populations and studied their government relations in Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific. He is now teaching at George Washington University.

¹² Lewis Meriam, ed., *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, Institute for Government Research, 1928).

¹³ 48 Stat 984.

¹⁴ For statistics on Indian education in 1970, see Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 181.

¹⁵ U.S. Constitution, Article I, Section 2.

¹⁶ For discussion of Indian eligibility to vote see Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

"Indians are the newest ethnic migrants to the urban areas of the United States. . . . It remains to be seen whether the urban Indian can obtain equality of opportunity and still resist the movement toward assimilation into the common culture."

The Urban Indian

BY JOANN WESTERMAN

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ACCORDING TO the 1970 census, 45 percent of all native Americans reside in cities. Projections based on these figures indicated that in the early 1970's at least half of all native Americans could be included in this catch-all phrase, "urban Indian."

To attempt a discussion of urban Indians as if all native Americans residing in cities are alike would be a serious error. Just as the term "Indian" is an abstract category, including as it does a diversity of ethnic groups coming from myriad backgrounds, so the phrase "urban Indian" reflects a higher level of abstraction. Many factors must be taken into account when considering this newest group of urban migrants. Of primary importance is how and why certain Indians become urbanized—have they been forced off the reservation by termination, poverty, or lack of work, or have they left of their own accord? Even within this latter group, the self-selected urban migrants, there are diverse reasons for leaving the reservation: to join kin already in the city, or to move voluntarily away from the Indian community in order to become consciously assimilated into the larger society are only two of many possible motivations.

An additional factor, overlooked in many studies of the urban Indians, is the regional and/or tribal background from which they come. The adjustment or lack of adjustment of the urban Indian is related to the individual's background; that background delineates his alternatives to urbanization. For example, a Navajo from a rural, traditional part of his reservation will perceive a totally alien world and react in a unique manner; a Navajo from one of the more transitional, semi-urban communities on the same reservation will behave very differently. The Navajo from a traditional background is more apt to leave the city and return home, while the Navajo from a less traditional background may move from one urban area to another, knowing that urban areas are not all

alike in their receptivity or in the opportunities that they offer.

Conversely, in the city the more traditional Navajo may enter into a network of relationships with other Navajo and thus, in one sense, make a better adjustment to urban life. Compound these possible differences with the variety of Indian communities and the different levels of experience and adjustment they offer their inhabitants and the extent of some of the differentiation possible in the urban Indian community is clear.

Of equal importance to the urban migrant is the area into which he moves. Different urban areas in different parts of the country offer totally different climates of acceptance or rejection. Border towns—urban communities that have grown adjacent to reservations—are notorious among Indians for the discrimination, often ranging to open hostility, that these communities exhibit toward Indians that move into them. The attitudes toward Indian residents affect their adjustment to a specific city, and perhaps to other urban areas where they may subsequently migrate. Thus evaluations of Indian urban residents or comparisons of Indian communities may be unrealistically simplistic.

Nonetheless, there are broad categories of problems that affect most Indians for at least part of their lives in the city and that probably afflict most Indians as long as they reside in an urban area. These problems revolve around two aspects of cultural conflict: the American non-recognition of, or hostility to, Indian culture; and the specific personal conflicts within oneself generated by urban residence. In addition, the Indian faces socioeconomic problems as a result of poverty, poor education and, in many cases, varying forms of discrimination that he experiences from the larger society.

With the recent growth of the urban Indian population, Indians are becoming far more "visible" than

they were on geographically and socially isolated reservations. Thus, the problems that they experience in the city, while usually extensions or elaborations of problems found on the reservation, become more relevant to the rest of the urban population. In consequence, larger, less isolated urban institutions like schools and welfare departments are becoming more aware of Indian problems. While on the reservation the Indian is serviced in these areas by the government in the guise of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, off the reservation the Indian becomes another non-white statistic for the urban school or social welfare department, institutions usually without any knowledge of the unique characteristics of the Indian client or student.

The cultural problems faced by the Indian living far from his home community—the community to which he still turns for his sense of personal and group identity—are generally not only misunderstood but totally overlooked in the non-Indian urban community. The socioeconomic situation of the Indian has long been purposely misrepresented by the bulk of American institutions. Unable to handle the uniqueness of the Indian's problems, most institutions chose either to ignore these problems or lump them with the problems of other minorities in the greater society. Today, however, the physical growth and mobility of the urban Indian population in some areas is forcing a reconsideration of many traditional assumptions about urban Indians. This growth in numbers and the related move into the urban area have generated an increase in Indian sophistication in ways to call society's attention to their problems both on and off the reservation.

HOW MANY URBAN INDIANS?

Probably no one can say with exactitude how many urban Indians there are. Past United States census reports may have undercounted Indians. The 1970 census, with its emphasis on self-reporting of race, may have overcounted, with some non-Indians reporting themselves as Indian for a variety of reasons, ranging from sympathy with the "Indian cause" to the romanticizing of their past. In addition, most urban Indians are poor and low skilled, and constitute a physically mobile population. The census is not always successful in counting the physically rootless. For example, the census reports an Indian population of 10,000 for New York City—a figure that seems high to some people, yet one that may be accurate. A project is

under way in New York City to locate the Indian population and identify its needs. In contrast, the Indian population of Phoenix, with its Indians unskilled and drawn largely from surrounding southwestern reservations, may have been severely undercounted. The category "Spanish surname," into which many southwestern Indians with Spanish surnames are placed, adds to census difficulties.

While the exact number of Indians in a community may be difficult to determine, some common trends run through the life styles and life chances of most urban Indians.

In the history of the urbanization of the United States, some native Americans have always lived in cities, sometimes for short-term visits or employment, at other times as permanent residents. There has been, for example, a permanent Navajo community in Albuquerque for at least 70 years. Navajo in Albuquerque had moved on their own impetus from their home communities to the nearest large city. There was a parallel move of other tribal members in other parts of the United States, a small but steady stream of Indians who, for a great variety of reasons, some economic, some social, abandoned their homes for urban life.

Some of these Indians remained in the cities and their children and grandchildren are truly urban Indians. They were born and raised far from their ancestral communities, and some have never visited their tribal homes. A proportion of these have also abandoned any sense of Indian identity. Intermarried and acculturated, these city dwellers are merely urban Americans of a particular ancestry. This pattern was anticipated by many social scientists. Thus the increasing phenomenon of the urban Indian who attempts, and often succeeds, in maintaining his identity in the city has not been recognized clearly until recently. In a study dealing with the relocation of the Navajo in Denver, the author noted the phenomenon of the urban Navajo who held fast to his sense of traditionalism despite years in the urban setting but stated that he was unable to offer an explanation for this situation.¹

URBAN COMMUNITIES

In fact, the policy of relocation of the 1950's and 1960's, which spurred the move of so many Indians to cities, also made it possible for Indians to congregate in concentrations large enough to supply them with their own urban communities. Some of these groups are notable for their vitality and the strength of their tribal identity,² others exist as social enclaves of Indians from a variety of backgrounds within non-Indian institutions, like Christian churches. The growth of Indian centers as off-reservation meeting grounds for social purposes became the Indian version of the settlement houses that developed in urban areas in

¹ Theodore E. Graves, "The Personal Adjustment of Navajo Indian Migrants to Denver, Colorado," *American Anthropologist*, February, 1970, pp. 35-54.

² Gordon V. Kreitz, "Transplanting and Revitalizing of Indian Cultures in the City," in J. O. Waddell and O. M. Watson (eds.), *American Indian Urbanization* (Lafayette: Purdue University Institute for the Study of Social Change, 1973), pp. 130-139.

the late nineteenth century to serve European immigrants.

Indian centers differ with respect to the type of needs that they service. Some are almost purely social in nature, while most attempt to supply economic and other related services to Indians in the city. Centers often mirror their directors, reflecting in the services they offer the orientation of their boards of directors toward life in the city and its particular needs and challenges. Indian centers change over time in their overall activities and types of attitudes, sometimes reflecting the community they serve, sometimes reflecting only the wishes and desires of their older or more active members. Indians who have visited different cities will often report, on returning home, how a center has changed or what activity it is currently offering. Many cities have two or more Indian centers under a variety of names, some of them sponsored by religious groups, others independent of non-Indian organizations.

In many respects, the urban Indian's problems are merely extensions of the problems he encountered on the reservation. However, on the reservation the Indian deals with the bureaucracy that has developed around the reservation system. In the city, he comes into contact with the network of institutions that deal with the rest of American society; he becomes a new type of statistic, often visible to the rest of society for the first time.

Reservation poverty has been the factor most responsible for moving Indians into an urban setting. In many cases, this poverty is merely perpetuated in the city. Lacking the skills and education increasingly demanded by the American economy, the Indian sinks into the condition of the other urban poor non-whites. The tolerance of the host community for Indians also affects the life chances of the urban migrant. Usually, the further the Indian moves from the reservation, the more receptive the urban community will be toward him. Several South Dakota and New Mexico communities are notably inhospitable to Sioux and Navajo families who wish to move off the reservation into these towns. Conversely, Chicago and the bay area of San Francisco have the reputation of being friendly, if not always supportive, to Indian migrants.

The complexities of local racial attitudes, however, are not so simply stated. The negative attitude toward Indians in Minneapolis was a precipitating force in the development of the American Indian Movement, a movement initiated by urban Indians that has political and social implications for the entire Indian population. In contrast, St. Paul, the sister city of Minneapolis, has taken a vastly different stance toward Indian residents.

Indians and supportive non-Indians alike have viewed education as a major problem for Indian society.³ The Indian dropout rate at all grade levels far exceeds that of any other group in the United States. In addition, the material and the teaching methods are usually so irrelevant to the Indian student that he becomes a psychological dropout long before he leaves the school. Educational problems, which continue in the urban schools as they did in the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools and off-reservation public schools, underlie both the cultural and the socioeconomic problems of the Indians. Poor skills lead to poor jobs and, in an increasingly education-oriented job market, poor skills more and more often lead to no jobs at all. Some Indians move to the cities because they have special skills that are not usable on the reservation. However, they are the exceptions; most urban Indians leave the reservations in an attempt to find employment for minimal skills. Often, without the requisite knowledge to fill out job applications and find permanent work, they join pools of day laborers or become piece-rate workers. These marginally employed workers, sometimes with associated family and alcohol problems, merely continue the aimless poverty that they experienced in their home communities. In many cases, they then become fully aware for the first time of the glaring economic discrepancy between themselves and the rest of society. The perception of poverty on the reservation is that of a shared life style; off the reservation, poverty becomes another glaring injustice.

Better skilled and educated urban Indians become the impetus for a cultural renaissance in the city. They enjoy sufficient income and sophistication to develop various forms of politically or culturally oriented Indian organizations. Often in the past, more prosperous Indians dropped out of the Indian community. But since the appearance of the so-called Red Power advocates, there seems to be an increasing push toward the reaffirmation of Indian culture. In part, the impetus for this development has come from younger, usually better educated Indians, who have maintained Indian pride as a survival skill in a hostile environment. Sometimes, surprisingly, the impetus has come from older Indian residents who were apparently well along the path to assimilation.

A major cultural and economic problem facing urban Indians is the educational system, which has been totally irrelevant to Indian needs, even in Indian communities. In urban areas, with their low concentrations of Indian children, schools have been even more adept at ignoring the necessities of educating Indian youngsters. Even in cities with large Indian populations, Indians still constitute a very small minority group. Consequently, the special needs of Indian children—ranging from remedial classes to material dealing with Indian culture—have been ignored. The

³ See Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst, *To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education* (New York: Anchor Press, 1973).

passage of what has come to be known as Title IV of the Indian Education Act will hopefully alleviate that situation. Under Title IV, an urban school district can determine the number of Indian children in its schools in order to apply for special funding to meet the educational needs of those children. Whether this will alleviate the cultural isolation of urban Indian children is yet to be proved. At its best, Title IV can give urban Indian parents some voice in what their children learn in the educational system. On a social level, Indian children may gain a sense of community support, a sense that has long been lacking in the urban community.

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

Young Indians often develop a language deficiency that affects the integration of the urban Indian into Indian society. The loss of Indian languages among many young urban Indians causes them much regret. Often Indian parents are too busy trying to survive in the city to minister to the total cultural needs of their children. Then, too, Indian children may not know enough Indians who speak their own tribal language and so, over time, early childhood skills are lost. The loss of tribal language often affects many areas of cultural life, just as it reflects their uncertainty about their identity.

Here a controversial distinction should be explored. When does a reservation-born Indian become an urban Indian? The term urban Indian clearly denotes a stigma to most Indians. Perhaps the term indicates a divorce from one's roots, or perhaps it incorporates the image of the assimilationist fleeing to the city to escape from his Indian background. Whatever the reason, the status of being urban troubles many Indians. University students discuss whether they have become urban Indians because of their long residence in schools away from their homes, and whether pursuing careers in their chosen fields will take them further away from their people and result in total alienation. The return to Wounded Knee of Indians, many of whom had experienced long years of residence in a variety of urban areas, and Indian support for the traditional Indians of Wounded Knee

are examples of the ties of Indians to their tradition.

After years of urban residence, many Indians still describe themselves as reservation Indians, indicating that, although life changes and styles have thrust them into the urban environment, they remain—or wish to remain—traditionalist reservation Indians. The correlation is between traditionalism and the reservation, and assimilation and the city. In fact, it is through urban residence and its relative stresses that many Indians come, perhaps for the first time, to identify themselves as Indian. Life in the city makes clear to them the differences between their life style and world view and the views of the rest of American society.

It is when they experience discrimination that most American minorities identify themselves as members of a group. American Indians have long perceived themselves as tribal members, belonging to a particular group with a specific culture, heritage and language. Some authors have discussed the phenomenon of what is sometimes termed Pan-Indianism.⁴ Curiously, there have been no clear explorations of the experiences in non-Indian society that lead Indians to a sense of identity, not just with fellow tribal members but with all Indians.

Social scientists who have observed Indians in American life seem somewhat confused as to the degree of discrimination directed toward Indians.⁵ The general view appears to be that prejudices against Indians tend to be local, directed against local Indians on local reservations. The Indian population is small in proportion to the total of American society, and the number of Indians who have prolonged contact with non-Indian communities is even smaller. Within the area of racial and ethnic studies it has been noted that discrimination increases with the increase of the size of a minority group in the population. For example, the likelihood that a minority will experience segregation is greater in cities where their proportion of the population is high. It can be expected that Indian movement into urban centers will result in more contact between Indians and non-Indians and an increase in discriminatory treatment. There is not enough material dealing with this problem. While some studies report that Indians in cities do not feel the effects of discrimination, it has been the experience of this writer that many Indians report low levels of discrimination either because they do not want to discuss the topic with those outside their own group, or they regard unequal treatment as part of the total inequity of urban life, not directed toward them specifically because of their race. From the little data

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⁴ John Ablon, "Relocated American Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area," *Human Organization*, vol. 23, 1964, pp. 296-304.

⁵ See, for example, Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan Indian Movements* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971); Ralph A. Luebben, "Prejudice and Discrimination Against Navajos in a Mining Community," in H. M. Bahr, B. A. Chadwick and R. C. Day (eds.), *Native Americans Today: Sociological Perspectives* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), pp. 89-101; John A. Price, "The Migration and Adaptation of American Indians to Los Angeles," *Human Organization*, vol. 27 (Summer, 1968), pp. 168-175; Arnold M. and Caroline B. Ross, "Law and the American Indians," in *Minority Problems* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 182-194.

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"The Indian peoples have a tradition and a culture to offer to the world. We have tried to take on other peoples' ways and found that they just did not work for us." The authors, writing from the viewpoint of a Canadian Indian from a tribe in British Colombia, speak as "a single voice."

The Indian World and the Fourth World

BY GEORGE MANUEL AND MICHAEL POSLUNS*

Authors of The Fourth World: An Indian Reality

THE GAP BETWEEN the myth of the Indian world as it has been generally represented to European North Americans and the reality I have known has not really closed very much in my lifetime, and what little change there has been has occurred in the decade of the 1960's.

A cornerstone of the mythical structure that has stood in the way of the Indian reality has been a belief that an Indian way of life meant something barbaric and savage, frozen in time and incapable of meeting the test of changing social conditions brought about by new technology. This myth was created by confusing the particular forms in use at one time with the values and beliefs they helped to realize. A man who is wedded to the soil is not necessarily married to a wooden plough. A man of letters is not committed to a fountain pen or a microphone.

It is true that there have been any number of surface changes that have increased understanding. Our children now often go to provincial schools rather than church schools, and we are now allowed into most hotels and protected against the more blatant forms of discrimination.

While these changes may be important for their own sake, few if any of them reach below the surface and touch on the fundamental ways in which two cultures, so different in their roots, meet and touch each other.

Only with that meeting and touching can the gap be closed. Only the closing of the gap—not a domination of one over the other but a real meeting—can result in a real change.

Let me give you an example from my early work

experience. I have never forgotten a certain conversation during a coffee break on the first job where I worked side by side with white people on an equal footing. I was a boom man on the Thompson River for a lumber mill that employed about forty men. Maybe two or three of us were Indians.

Another worker with whom I often sat at coffee breaks said to me as he sat down, "Can I ask you a question that's been on my mind for some time?"

"Sure," I said.

"Does Indians have feelings?" he asked.

"Yes, Indians have feelings," I told him.

"You know, my wife and I often talked about this, and since you're my friend I felt you wouldn't be offended if I asked you. We actually feel Indians is no different from dogs, no feelings at all for kinship."

A second incident occurred one Monday, as we were sitting in the mill yard having coffee. From the mill yard you could look across the river and see the Catholic church on our reserve. The priest would come around to that church once a month on a Sunday and stay until Tuesday. During those three days almost everybody went to church every day, as though to make up for the time lost between his visits. This sight amused the white men, who on that day started to laugh so that I thought they would split their ribs. They were laughing at all the Indians going to church on a Monday, a working day.

I was still a long way from learning to project an aggressive and forceful personality. I must have been provoked past the point of caring when I said, "You're laughing at my people. It's you who brainwashed my people to go to church."

"What do you mean, 'we'? We had nothing to do with it."

"Your people did. The white people did. We had our own religion. It was your ancestors, whether

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you were there or not, who compelled the Indian people to go to church and give up our own religion. Now, after you did this to my people, you laugh at them."

Perhaps neither of these conversations would be so likely to take place today. But how often has a dialogue, however crude, been replaced by silence? If this is change it is certainly not progress.

For a people who have fallen from a proud state of independence and self-sufficiency, progress—substantial change—can come about only when we again achieve that degree of security and control over our own destinies. We do not need to re-create the exact forms by which our grandfathers lived, their lives—the clothes, the houses, the political systems, or the means of travel. We do need to create new forms that will allow the future generations to inherit the values, the strengths, and the basic spiritual beliefs—the way of understanding the world—that is the fruit of a thousand generations' cultivation of North American soil by Indian people.

At this point in our struggle for survival, the Indian peoples of North America are entitled to declare a victory. We have survived. If others have also prospered on our land, let it stand as a sign between us that the Mother Earth can be good to all her children without confusing one with another. It is a myth of European warfare that one man's victory requires another's defeat.

Perhaps the one true change of substance I have seen is the growing number of non-Indian people who are coming to value the land, the air, the water, and the light as we do. It is no coincidence that at a time when Indian people are looking to our old ways for strength and guidance, others are also learning that if we too long abuse the medicines of nature, they will no longer work for us.

An awareness of another common bond has also been growing among the colonized peoples of the world. Whenever a tribal people have come under the domination of a European power, there has been the common experience of colonialism. Were this a political experience that did not reach to the very roots of our being, striking at the very heart of our view of the world, it would not have forged such a compelling bond between such distant peoples.

Were there not already a common understanding of the universe shared by many, if not all, of these people before the coming of the Europeans, the mere fact that we had all had a period of foreign domination would not be an enduring link. The bond of colonialism we share with the Third World peoples is the shared values that distinguish the Aboriginal world from the nation-states of the Third World.

Each time that I have visited another aboriginal people in their homeland—the Maoris and Australian aborigines, the Polynesians, the Lapps, the Africans—

I have been touched by two kinds of common bond I held with the people I was greeting. (It was the Maoris who taught me the use of the name "European," rather than white. In New Zealand even the more progressive whites use the Maori word *Pakeha*, meaning "European," to describe themselves. If Europeans can come to terms with their own origins, they may no longer need to insist upon their purity, i.e., whiteness.)

First, the distinction between the Third World and the Aboriginal World is at present political, but will eventually be seen as religious and economic. The Third World is emerging at this time primarily because it is rapidly learning to adapt its life-style to Western technology; it reacts to Western political concepts; and it uses racial issues to pivot its expanding influence between the super-powers, gathering concessions from both sides while struggling to imitate them.

It was a Tanzanian diplomat who said to me, "When the Indian peoples come into their own, that will be the Fourth World." I do not think he meant that we would create nation-states like his own, but that, like Tanzania, the nation-state would learn to contain within itself many different cultures and life-ways, some highly tribal and traditional, some highly urban and individual. At that point the Third World will no longer need to imitate and compete with the European empires from which they have so recently escaped.

The Aboriginal World has so far lacked the political muscle to emerge: it is without economic power; it rejects Western political techniques; it is unable to comprehend Western technology unless it can be used to extend and enhance traditional life forms; and it finds its strength above and beyond Western ideas of historical process. While the Third World can eventually emerge as a force capable of maintaining its freedom in the struggle between East and West, the Aboriginal World is almost wholly dependent upon the good faith and morality of the nations of East and West within which it finds itself.

Second, when I met with the Maori people, on my first trip beyond the shores of North America, if I had said, "Our culture is every inch of our land," the meaning would have been obvious to them. Wherever I have travelled in the Aboriginal World, there has been a common attachment to the land.

This is not the land that can be speculated, bought, sold, mortgaged, claimed by one state, surrendered or counter-claimed by another. The land from which our culture springs is like the water and the air, one and indivisible. The land is our Mother Earth. The animals who grow on that land are our spiritual brothers. We are a part of that Creation that the Mother Earth brought forth. More complicated, more sophisticated than the other creatures, but no

nearer to the Creator who infused us with life.

The struggle of the past four centuries has been between these two ideas of land. Lurking behind this struggle for land was a conflict over the nature of man himself. Aboriginal people were not born with the debit balance of original sin to work off in this world to assure their place in the next. We did not think of the individual existing prior to his being a part of the tribe or clan. If a task was incomplete at the time of his departure, it was an inheritance of the nation to carry on, not a judgment against man.

Political processes reflect the same difference in world views. In a society where all are related, where everybody is someone else's mother, father, brother, sister, aunt, or cousin, and where you cannot leave without eventually coming home, simple decisions require the approval of nearly everyone in that society. It is the society as a whole, not merely a part of it, that must survive.

A society like European North America, which avoids stability at all costs and keeps all its social factors in a perpetual state of change, demands only that a majority of people consent to proposed actions. At any one time there are those who are "in" and those who are "out." If the outs cannot gain the majority to make more changes, they always have the option of getting out of the society altogether.

Although there are as wide variations between different Indian cultures as between different European cultures, it seems to me that all of our structures and values have developed out of a spiritual relationship with the land on which we have lived. Our customs and practices vary as the different landscapes of the continent, but underlying this forest of legitimate differences is a common soil of social and spiritual experience.

The Fourth World emerges as each people develops customs and practices that wed it to the land as the forest is to the soil, and as people stop expecting that there is some unnamed thing that grows equally well from sea to sea. As each of our underdeveloped nations begins to mature, we may learn to share this common bed without persisting in a relationship of violence and abduction. Such mutuality can come only as each respects the wholeness of the other, and also acknowledges his own roots.

The first years of contact between Europeans and various Indian nations often provided a new flowering for both the local and the visiting cultures. Both the native people and the visitors developed a mutual dependence that assured that even when relations were not friendly they would at least be respectful and, for the most part, peaceable. This pattern seems to apply both on the east coast and, almost two centuries later, on the west coast, including to some degree those Indian nations who maintained

regular trade routes by river from interior homelands to either coast.

Both cultures had many things to give each other. As long as the trading continued on the basis of mutual interdependence, it cannot be said that either one got the better of the other. By what standard do you measure?

One of the earliest treaties between Europeans and North American Indians was recorded by the Iroquois as the Two Row Wampum Belt. The two rows that are woven into the pattern symbolize the path of two vessels travelling on parallel paths but neither interfering with the other. It is only through the mutual acknowledgement of the other's reality that it is possible to travel on parallel courses and avoid collision. It is the emergence of this kind of mutual acknowledgement that I would understand to be the only standard of positive change and integration.

There is another, secondary but important, interpretation of the Two Row Wampum. What is the fate of the man who stands with one foot on the bow plate of each of the two vessels when those boats hit rough water?

I have spent much of my adult life straddling the two vessels in the hope that some honest coming-together was possible. If there has not been substantial change in my lifetime in relations between the two main cultures of Canada—Indian and European—the problem has its roots in the failure to look at North American history as we are taught to look at European history, as the trunk and the roots, not as the borrowed branch. When we do this we see that the culture of North America is that of the Indian nations.

It is not, of course, the school-book histories that have kept us apart. They are but a shortened statement of European consciousness in North America. The reason we have not come together is far simpler than the racial myth of the schoolbooks.

We have not come together in three hundred years of living on the same land because neither side would accept the other's terms of union.

Canadian authorities, since Confederation, have offered an open hand to an Indian who, as one major-general recruiting Indians for the Canadian army in the far north recently put it, "becomes one of us"—that is, an enfranchised, tax-paying Christian who brings nothing from his past, unless it is saleable.

As Indian nations were "discovered," one after another, we responded to the European offers with the Two Row Wampum Belt or some variation on that basic idea. Our terms were found unacceptable. Another solution was found.

I do not know whether Europe is such a poor place that its peoples have always had to travel and plunder to sustain themselves, or whether its peoples have been placed at a strategic crossroads that has

furnished them with a unique opportunity. That is too great a question to have an answer. Certainly, the role of town crier within the global village is both vital and valid. But it is common knowledge that the messenger is not the scribe. And the scribe is not the thinker who originates the message. The town crier need not be a chief in anyone's culture.

No one can make an exclusive claim to the making of the global village, or to the wisdom to guide it. Similarly, the political leaders and scholars who have been saying, "The Indians' old world is disappearing. He must make the change to the white man's civilization whether he likes it or not," are pretending to speak with the voice of the Creator.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, enquiry after enquiry assured the Canadian government that we Indians were dying off of our own accord. With the epidemics of disease and famine that these commissions catalogued, the rate of conversion to Christianity was so great that the vanishing souls of our ancestors would all arrive safely at their proper place.

Indian spiritual leaders have been telling our people for a very long time that every man answers directly to his Creator through his own conscience, that he is judged by that Creator according to his service to his community, and that every man has the potential to make that service. My grandfather, who raised me from my infancy until his death when I was twelve years old, was an Indian doctor. It was on such a view of the world that he based all his teachings, both spiritual and medical.

It has been difficult to communicate his knowledge to a culture that published pictures of him burning in hell, and made his spiritual practices an indictable offence. So much gets lost in the translation when two cultures cannot find a common language. Today, when more and more young people in North America, of all races, are trying to understand his wisdom, some translation may be possible.

AN INDIAN CELEBRATION

The National Indian Brotherhood will celebrate the victory of the Indian peoples by bringing together aboriginal peoples from every corner of the globe.

Our celebration will embrace the aboriginal peoples of the world: the Indians of the Americas, the Lapps of Northern Scandinavia, the Polynesian and Pacific Basin peoples, the Basques of Spain, the Welsh and Celts of Great Britain, the Maori and Australian aborigines. These are the people whom we know, but there are more. Within the Soviet Union, China, Japan, and Ceylon are numerous peoples unknown in the Western world who share the status and perhaps the fate of Western aborigines. If no other way is open to them, we will be with them in spirit.

Our victory celebration will honor the fact of our survival; that we have not forgotten the words and deeds of our grandfathers, and that today Indian people throughout North America are undergoing a rebirth, as self-conscious societies aware of our own unique role in the history of this continent.

Our cultures have survived because they possess a strength and vitality with which the visitors to our continent have not yet been prepared to credit us. The ancients, both in Europe and in America, would have said, "Your gods are as strong as our gods."

Does it matter how many battles others say you have lost if on the day of reckoning you have survived? In a Christian framework, victory means to make it to the day of reckoning. In an Indian framework, every day is the day of reckoning.

Our celebration honors our grandfathers who kept it alive.

The present concern with ecological disasters visited upon Western man by his failure to recognize land, water, and air as social, not individual, commodities, testifies to aboriginal man's sophistication in his conception of universal values.

As we view the North American Indian world today, we must keep in mind two things: Indians have not yet left the aboriginal universe in which they have always dwelt emotionally and intellectually, and the Western world is gradually working its way out of its former value system and into the value system of the Aboriginal World.

Our celebration honors the emergence of the Fourth World: the utilization of technology and its life-enhancing potential within the framework of the values of the peoples of the Aboriginal World—not a single messianic moment after which there will never be another raging storm, but the free use of power by natural human groupings, immediate communities, people who are in direct contact with one another, to harness the strength of the torrent for the growth of their own community. Neither apartheid nor assimilation can be allowed to discolor the community of man in the Fourth World. An integration of free communities and the free exchange of people between those communities according to their talents and temperaments is the only kind of confederation that is not an imperial domination.

The Fourth World is a vision of the future history of North America and of the Indian peoples. The two histories are inseparable. It has been the in-

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"Prospects for the improvement of Indian education are bright."

Education of the American Indians

BY WILL ANTELL

Assistant Commissioner of Education, State of Minnesota

INDIAN STUDENTS and their parents are behind the general population in terms of educational achievement, with respect to enrollment in school, achievement as measured by standardized tests, and school completion.¹ It is commonly assumed that Indian disadvantages in income, employment, housing, and health have been caused by a lack of education or, at the very least, have not been relieved because of a lack of education.

In 1969, Karl Marburger, former Assistant Commissioner of Education in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, said in testimony before the United States Senate Sub-Committee on Indian Education:

To speak generally of the state of Indian education, I can say that it is most comparable with the education of disadvantaged youth, rural and urban, throughout the country. I.Q. and achievement test results indicate consistently low scores and tend to retrogress as the children go through the grades. These children bring negative self-image concepts to the school, and the environmental handicaps are most debilitating.²

The Senate Sub-Committee on Indian Education reported:

... that achievement levels of Indian children are two to three years below those of white students, and the Indian

child falls progressively behind the longer he stays in school.³

Everett Edington (1969), Brewton Berry (1968), Madison Combs (1958), John Bryde (1966), and others all reported similar findings:

... these researchers found not only that Indian children achieved well below white students but also that they fell further behind as the higher grades were reached.⁴

Combs called this phenomenon "progressive retardation." He studied 14,000 Indian pupils and nearly 10,000 non-Indian students in 11 states. According to one of his findings: "... while Indian pupils did not compare too unfavorably with white children at the fourth grade level, they progressively declined from that point on through the 12th grade."⁵

The Bryde study tested 400 Sioux pupils and more than 200 other pupils in South Dakota. Bryde reported:

... that the Indian pupils actually did better on the tests than the white pupils in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades, then fell behind in the seventh grade and declined from that point on.⁶

The James Coleman study reported:

Indian children achieved at a lower level than white children at all grade levels tested (grades 1, 3, 6, 9 and 12) and at an increasing rate of retardation.⁷

Willard Bass at the Southwestern Cooperative Laboratory found in a longitudinal study the following:

At the ninth grade level Indian students were, on the average, from 1 to 1.5 grade levels below the national average, but the twelfth graders were from 2.5 to 3.0 grades behind.⁸

The United States Office of Education reported in 1972 that there were nearly 200,000 Indian students enrolled in the public schools, and nearly 55,000 Indian students enrolled in Bureau of Indian Affairs federal boarding schools.⁹

Until data banks and adequate census procedures are established, precise enrollment statistics for American Indians must be used cautiously. The difficulty in establishing accurate numbers of Indian students in the public schools has made it even more difficult to establish a true dropout rate. Some studies, however, suggest that the Indian dropout rate

¹ D. Wilfred Antell, *A Model for the Distribution of Johnson-O'Malley Funds Based on Educational Needs* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, August, 1973), p. 19.

² U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Sub-Committee on Indian Education, *Indian Education, 1969*, Hearing, 91st Congress, 1st session, part 1, February 18, 19, 24, 1969 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 314.

³ *Ibid.*, November 3, 1969, p. 1x.

⁴ Madison L. Combs, *The Educational Disadvantages of the Indian American Student*, Educational Resources Information Center, Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools (Las Cruces, New Mexico: New Mexico State University, July, 1970), p. 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷ James S. Coleman et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 20-21.

⁸ Willard Bass, *An Analysis of Academic Achievement of Indian High School Students in Federal and Public Schools—First Year Progress Report* (Albuquerque: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc., 1968), p. 20.

⁹ U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Education Briefing Paper* (Washington, D.C.: February, 1972), p. 1.

is significantly higher than that of white students. The United States Senate Sub-Committee reported:

... dropout rates are twice the national average in both public and federal schools.¹⁰

The Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory conducted a study entitled, "The American Indian High School Dropout in the Southwest." A report on Indian high school dropouts in Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Colorado and Utah was completed in 1969; a dropout rate of 38.7 percent was reported.¹¹ During approximately the same period of time, the Northwest Regional Laboratory conducted a similar study in the states of Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and South Dakota, where a dropout rate of 47.7 percent was reported.¹²

The League of Women Voters in 1967 reported a 67.5-percent dropout rate of Indian students in the Minneapolis, Minnesota, public schools.¹³ Its latest publication in 1974 indicates that dropouts range from 35 to 45 percent, information compiled from the Minnesota Department of Education.¹⁴

Official dropout studies on a national level are nonexistent, and information presented about dropouts in specific areas of the country may not be reliable. A dropout study on a national level has been suggested by many Indian educators. Their pleas have fallen on deaf ears, but the dropout rate remains a serious problem. Educational institutions and bureaucrats who control programs or resources constantly point to the high dropout rate when Indians apply for assistance.

Why are Indian students unsuccessful? Why do they fail to complete secondary education programs? Four major factors should be mentioned.

Polarization of School Community and Indian Community. If one were to visit the school community, and then the Indian community, or vice versa, a wide range of views would be heard. The schools are very critical of Indian parents. Typical criticisms are: (1) Indian parents are not interested in the education of their children; (2) Indian parents don't care about their children; (3) Why doesn't the federal government do something about requiring Indian children to attend school? (4) Indian children are passive, very non-verbal and everything I try

never seems to work; and (5) I just can't seem to get through to Indian children.

Conversations with Indian parents produce the following comments: (1) Schools don't want our children, they don't drop out, they are forced out; (2) School personnel don't care about our children; (3) School people don't understand our children; (4) School personnel never have anything to do with us, unless there is trouble; and (5) Schools discriminate against our children, they are prejudiced and it is always our kids who suffer the most.

Both lists are endless. Basic communication between schools and the Indian community could be improved to minimize or reduce the lack of respect and the misunderstandings.

In many parts of the United States efforts are being made to alleviate this problem. Where differences formerly seemed insurmountable, today there is mutual respect. In many cases, confrontation and intense hostility have occurred. This writer has suffered through countless confrontation sessions watching Indians and school officials vent their hostility. But eventually both groups find that there are no easy solutions; then their differences diminish.

Indian parents begin to see that the schools face difficult problems. They understand the education process. They learn that teachers are interested in their children but have been unable to deal with their problems. Schools find out that Indian parents really love their children and want them to get an education. They learn that the Indian community can be their best resource in helping students to achieve at a better rate, to develop a better self-image, and to stay in school.

The Media and Its Impact on Indian Education. Freedom of the press is a right that Americans have cherished since the beginning of the republic. Certainly, American Indians are not opposed to freedom of the press. They are, however, arguing for accurate and truthful accounts of their role in the world. Their history and their culture have been distorted beyond recognition.

How does it feel to be an Indian in a classroom? The Indian child is a human being with needs like those of other children; however, sooner or later he finds out that he is "different." If he does not learn this from his peers, the school will surely teach him. The undesirable characteristics of American Indians portrayed by the media will either be reinforced or ignored by the schools.

How does this strike a third grader? He sees himself depicted constantly as something less than human. This writer was such a third grader once. Anger, shame, and a negative self-image made one want to run and hide and never return. It is not difficult to understand why Indian parents report similar feelings.

¹⁰ *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge*, op. cit., p. ix.

¹¹ Willard Bass and Charles Owens, *The American Indian High School Dropout in the Southwest* (Albuquerque: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc., 1969), p. 7.

¹² Alphonse Selinger, *The American Indian High School Dropout: The Magnitude of the Problem* (Portland: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, September, 1968), p. 137.

¹³ *Indians in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Minnesota League of Women Voters, 1967), p. 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1974, p. 59.

The media are not solely responsible for the distortion of the Indian image. Why do the American public schools tolerate it? Publishing companies are responsive to the schools. Thus educators must demand that media services portray the Indian in a way that would enhance the lives of all students. The Indian child in the classroom will not be the only beneficiary if the curriculum and the media give an accurate account of American Indians. Non-Indians will gain a clearer perspective. In the long run, the non-Indian will benefit the most.

Training of School Personnel and Indian Education. The United States Senate Sub-Committee on Indian Education reported in 1969: "One fourth of elementary and secondary teachers, by their own admission, would prefer not to teach Indian children."¹⁵ While the reasons for this are not well known, one factor does stand out. Institutions of higher education have not prepared school personnel to work in Indian communities or in schools serving Indian children.

Teachers transmit their value system to the children in their classrooms directly or indirectly. Unfortunately, many teachers cannot or will not tolerate the values of others. Thus, inadequately trained professionals are apt to do everything possible to change the Indian, to "make him like every one else." Senator Walter Mondale (D., Minn.) has said:

We somehow have adopted the notion that the purpose of an educational institution is to change the Indian, to have him lose his Indianness, and adopt the culture and values of the dominate society. For 400 years we have tried to do this. For 400 years we have failed. The Indian is still an Indian.¹⁶

Human relations training has become mandatory for school personnel in many states, including Minnesota. Universities and colleges have been forced to re-evaluate school personnel training programs, and have belatedly recognized that they must prepare professionally trained people to work effectively in a variety of communities, including Indian reservations. This whole problem can be summarized by quoting William Peeseno of the National Indian Youth Council:

The problem is not with Indians; they merely react. The problem is with institutions that serve Indians. The institutions that serve Indians were created by man. The Indians were created by God. Surely the institutions are more amenable to change than the people.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge*, op. cit., p. 1x.

¹⁶ *Congressional Record*, vol. 115, no. 198 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, December 2, 1969), p. 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁸ Vine Deloria, Jr., *History and Background of Indian Education* (Tsaile, Arizona: Navajo Community College, 1974), p. 1.

Indian Control. There are many Indians who believe that all their educational problems will be solved if they control the education of their own children. Achievement would certainly be affected dramatically if Indians controlled the schools their children attend.

Indians have never controlled their own lives, including their education. What little control they had was always sharply limited. In practically every case, when Congress passed legislation and appropriated money for Indian education, Indians themselves were the last to know. For example, the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 is the least understood and most controversial piece of legislation dealing with Indian education ever passed by Congress. Only in the late 1960's and the early 1970's, did Indians realize that this act provided resources for special educational programs for their children. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the agencies that it contracted with had administered programs for Indian education without Indian knowledge of the act for nearly 40 years.

There are dangers to the notion that Indians should control Indian education. The vast majority of Indian students are enrolled in the public schools, which are subject to state and local jurisdiction. Control of public education is vested in several units of government. Financial control is held by Congress, state legislatures, and local units of government. Where does tribal government fit into this scheme? The answer is nowhere, unless some level of government mandates the inclusion of tribal government.

It is very unlikely that American Indians could gain control of the schools that are educating their children. Numbering less than 2 million people, Indians hardly have political clout. Nonetheless, Indian children and their parents are citizens entitled to a free public education. Surely control over Indian education can be shared by American Indians.

CURRENT STATUS

Despite many problems, there have been exciting recent educational developments in Indian education. In a recent publication, Vine Deloria, Jr., stated:

Cries for reform of federal Indian policy and programs have been escalating for the past decade and while much of the demand for change has centered on such matters as tribal sovereignty, water rights, and treaty rights, there has not been spectacular change in those areas. Of all the subject matters on the contemporary Indian agenda, education has made the largest gain and produced the most significant changes over the past two decades.¹⁸

An increasing number of Indian students who have survived elementary and secondary schooling have accepted the challenge of higher education. In Minnesota, for example, during 1969-70, there were

less than 200 Indians enrolled in schools of higher education, compared to nearly 1,000 during 1973-74. Although other states may not match this phenomenal percentage increase, my observation indicates that Minnesota is not an isolated case. It is estimated that nearly 20,000 Indian students are now pursuing undergraduate programs at universities and colleges throughout the nation. Indian college graduates are no longer the exception, although the demand for Indian graduates far outnumbers the supply.

This is also true in the field of graduate studies. Indians with advanced degrees in 1970 were practically nonexistent. In the late 1960's, the Office of Economic Opportunity paved the way by offering fellowships to promising Indian students to pursue law degrees. The program is now funded by different federal agencies.

Another popular profession for Indians is education administration. The University of Minnesota, Harvard University, and Pennsylvania State University paved the way for Indian students pursuing master's and doctorate degrees in educational administration. In four years, nearly 200 Indian students have received their master's degrees while six have received doctorates; and nearly 30 candidates are in the final stages of doctoral work. Many other leading universities have similar programs but do not limit them to particular professions. Today, Indian students are recruited almost as competitively as blue-chip football players.

Indian adults, many of them school dropouts, have reentered educational programs in significant numbers. Adult educational opportunity has been accelerated because of the great demand by Indian adults in their communities throughout the nation. Thousands have received general education diplomas, which are equivalent to regular high school diplomas. One of the major reasons that an increasing number of Indian adults are continuing their education is that programs have been taken to the Indian community.

TITLE FOUR

The most important legislation dealing with Indian education ever passed by the United States Congress was the Indian Education Act of 1972, also known as Title IV.¹⁹ No legislation has had greater impact.

There are several parts to Title IV; however, only the first four parts will be discussed. Part A is an amendment to Public Law 874 (impact aid) and is an entitlement program with certain conditions. All public schools enrolling at least 10 Indian students are eligible for federal funds. Before public schools can apply for funds, certain criteria must be ful-

filled: a public hearing must be held for the purpose of electing a parent advisory committee; parents of Indian children must constitute at least 50 percent of the membership, with the remaining members teachers and Indian students. Never has Congress given so much power and authority to advisory committees in allocating federal aid to education. PAC's must plan the program, develop budgets, monitor and evaluate the programs, and, most important, approve the project before the school district can apply for funds. There are few limitations as to how Title IV funds can be used, as long as the Parent Advisory Committee approves. During the current fiscal year, \$25 million will be spent under Part A.

Part B provides opportunities for Indian tribes and organizations to develop innovative and demonstration programs in Indian education. This has prompted attention to the development of Indian history and cultural programs. Under Part B, also, tribes and organizations are working with teachers and other school personnel in in-service training programs. Again, the parameters are unlimited; tribes and organizations have an opportunity to control programs they feel will benefit their children.

Part C provides for the education of Indian adults. During fiscal year 1975, Indian tribes and organizations have been the major recipients of funds under Part B and Part C. This is consistent with the intent of the law. If enthusiasm and interest are any measuring stick, Title IV will have an even greater impact on Indian education during the 1970's. The act also created a National Advisory Council. The United States Office of Education, which administers Title IV, must consult with the council before certain decisions are made. The United States Commissioner of Education must listen very carefully to the council's recommendations before he can approve grants under A, B, and C. The council also has responsibility beyond Title IV. All education programs in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare dealing with Indians are within the jurisdiction of the council.

Funds under the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 are now being contracted, in many cases, with Indian tribes. This has given new life to Indian reservations and their education programs. For many years the tribes gave only "lip" service to education. Their attitude has changed rapidly, giving added

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¹⁹ Public Law 92318.

BOOK REVIEWS

ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDIANS OF THE AMERICAS, VOLUME I: CONSPECTUS AND CHRONOLOGY. EDITED BY KEITH IRVINE. (St. Clair Shores, Michigan: Scholarly Press, 1974. 458 pages and index, \$35.00.)

The editors of this new reference work on the Indians of the Americas are planning a 20-volume, alphabetically arranged encyclopedia; this Conspectus and Chronology make up the first volume. They are taking a hemispheric approach and are covering the pure-blooded Indians to the south of the Mexican border as well as the more familiar (to us) Indians of the United States and Canada.

"Even before the coming of the Europeans and down to the present time the Indian ethnic groups have been as varied as their own degree of evolution. They range from the woodland and desert groups . . . to the descendants of the builders of the great civilizations of Mesoamerica and of the Andean region . . . who not only achieved a highly technical level of agriculture but also created a social and political organization . . . developed from their own resources."

The arrival of the Europeans either halted or liquidated the development of Indian civilizations. The Conspectus contributors write about Indian art, history, society and culture, science and technology, religion and philosophy, geography and the Indian view of himself and his environment.

The article on the Indians of Canada makes a point, valid for most Indian groups in the Americas, that by 1974 the Indians "had acquired a great deal of political awareness, they had also become increasingly dissatisfied with their lot. They were no longer content to remain passive about their situation, but were becoming more and more adept at using their new-found political influence to good advantage."

From the nineteenth century to the present, the Latin American states have followed very similar policies with regard to their Indian populations. The ruling groups believe that "the entire process of Westernization—assimilation, incorporation, integration is good for Indians." In general, an Indian of the Americas, whether from the forests, the ghettos or the towns, lives in a state of alienation. This is the theme of most of the Conspectus.

The Chronology is a brief summary year by year of some of the major events from pre-Columbian times to the present that are important in Indian history.

This volume represents the start of a major

effort to provide accurate and useful information in a readily accessible reference work. Color plates and other illustrations add to its value. It is to be hoped that the succeeding volumes will be as successful as this first one.

AMERICAN INDIAN ALMANAC. BY JOHN UPTON TERRELL. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1974. 494 pages, selected bibliography, glossary, notes and index, \$4.95, paper.)

John Upton Terrell has written a well-documented book about "the peoples who inhabited the region of the United States up to the beginning of the historical period. Indians were hunting in the Eastern Woodlands region of the United States . . . very long before the idea of building great pyramids had been conceived by the Egyptians. And they had lived for millenia before that time in other parts of North America."

It is interesting to note that every year new archeological findings and improved methods of dating continually push man's arrival in the western hemisphere further and further into the past. Archeologists generally agree that the original Indian inhabitants of the Americas probably arrived from Asia via a land bridge across the Bering Sea; they then spread out from Alaska through the American continents.

The author arbitrarily divides the area comprising the United States into ten geographical regions whose delineations conform generally to prehistoric cultural areas. He tells of the general history and tribal customs of the Indian groupings within each of the divisions. He writes for the layman and reports the latest anthropological and archeological findings and the apparent relationships between regions.

This story of primitive culture in prehistoric America makes fascinating reading. The lengthy bibliography and glossary add greatly to the value of the book.

APACHE CHRONICLE. BY JOHN UPTON TERRELL. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1974. 411 pages, notes, bibliography and index, \$4.50, paper.)

The story of the Apache is different from that of other American Indian tribes. The Apaches were already on the stage of the southwestern United States when the era of recorded history began. They waged unceasing war against the white invaders with more success than any other group; the Mexicans and the Spaniards could not

subdue them and only toward the end of the 1800's were United States forces able to end their lengthy and bloody war with Apache forces.

The book is divided by centuries and covers the most important events of Apache history during the periods covered by the chronicle.

John Terrell is a writer and scholar of repute and this story of a great people is welcome.

THE CIVIL WAR ERA IN INDIAN TERRITORY. EDITED BY LEROY H. FISCHER. (Los Angeles: Lorrin L. Morrison, 1974. 175 pages and index, \$4.25, paper.)

This is an enlightening book about a little known part of American history. It concerns the problems that the Civil War era brought to the Indian tribes living in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma).

THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS. EDITED BY OAKAH L. JONES. (Los Angeles: Lorrin L. Morrison, 1974. 262 pages, selected reading list and index, \$5.50.)

The readings in this volume are for the student of America's first frontier—the Spanish frontier. The book covers an important era that involves the Indians, the Spanish and the Western Americans. The special maps and reference notes are valuable.

THE TOTEM POLE INDIANS. BY JOSEPH H. WHERRY. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1974. 152 pages, appendix and index, \$3.50, paper.)

The Totem Pole Indians were a distinct cultural group inhabiting the Northwest Pacific coast from Washington to Alaska. Joseph Wherry has written a fascinating, well-illustrated account of this unique group of early inhabitants of North America. Their descendants are still carrying on many of the early traditions of their tribes, particularly the totem pole itself, which serves as a status symbol, and personal and tribal history record.

There are many handsome illustrations of totem poles, with an interpretation of the symbols found on them.

AMERICAN INDIAN FOOD AND LORE. BY CAROLYN NIETHAMMER. (New York: Collier Books, 1974. 191 pages, notes, medical index and index, \$4.95, paper.)

Carolyn Niethammer explains how the Indian tribes of Arizona and New Mexico used food in their tribal customs, and for curing illness, as well as in cooking. The menus illustrate the resourcefulness of these desert-dwellers at finding or growing food.

NAVAJO AND HOPI WEAVING TECHNIQUES. BY MARY PENDLETON. (New York: Macmillan, 1974. 158 pages, illustrated instructions and index, \$9.95, \$4.95, paper.)

The rugs and blankets of the Navajo and Hopi Indians have been justly famous for generations for their beauty and durability. Mary Pendleton has spent 15 years with Indian craftsmen learning techniques and designs; in this book she explains with text and illustration the weaving processes of the Hopis and Navajos.

The illustrations of finished Indian rugs show the beauty of this ancient Indian craft.

THE ROAD TO WOUNDED KNEE. BY ROBERT BURNETTE AND JOHN KOSTER. (New York: Bantam Books, 1974. 332 pages, chronology, and index, \$1.95, paper.)

This is the sad story of Indian-United States relations from the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890 to the confrontation at Wounded Knee in 1973.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN READER. BY FREDERICK W. TURNER III. (New York: Viking Press, 1974. 628 pages and bibliography, \$3.25, paper.)

This is a selection of writings about the American Indians, intended "to present the American Indian to other Americans as a human being in all his variety. . . ."

AMERICANIZING THE AMERICAN INDIAN. EDITED BY FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973. 358 pages, bibliographical note and index, \$12.50.)

This interesting book details the aggressive drive to Americanize the Indian. By ignoring Indian views, the drive irreparably damaged the Indians and their heritage.

THOMAS L. MCKENNEY, ARCHITECT OF AMERICA'S EARLY INDIAN POLICY: 1816-1830. BY HERMAN J. VIOLA. (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1974. 400 pages, illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography and index, \$15.00.)

Thomas McKenney was one of this country's foremost champions of the American Indians. He headed the Department of Indian Affairs from 1816 to 1830 and was the principal architect behind the Indian Civilization Act of 1819 and the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Herman Viola underscores the importance of this man during the turbulent history of the American Indian.

Herman J. Viola, director of the National Anthropological Archives in the Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution, is well qualified to write this book.

THE FOURTH WORLD: AN INDIAN REALITY. BY GEORGE MANUEL and MICHAEL POSLUNS. (New York: The Free Press, 1974. 278 pages, notes and index, \$7.95.)

The two Canadian authors present an historical and personal account of the struggle for Indian survival as a nation, a culture, and a reality. Their vision of tomorrow is of a world in which every nation state will have room for many divergent and different cultures.

Vine Deloria, Jr., states in the foreword that: "The idea of the supernational state which incorporates diverse groups of peoples within its borders is a relatively recent idea in man's experience. On the North American continent, because of the continuous and seemingly endless stretches of land, Indian nations have become a strange form of 'domestic Nation' in relation to Canada and the United States. Only when we visualize this condition occurring everywhere and ask why it should be that way, why it *has to be that way*, are we prepared to learn from George Manuel what the Fourth World really is." O.E.S.

Miscellaneous

THREE FACES OF MARXISM. BY WOLFGANG LEONHARD. (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974. 497 pages, selected bibliography and index, \$15.00.)

At a time when Western intellectuals are again intrigued with the ideas of Marx and Engels, this expert, highly readable account of the transmutation of Marxism into its Soviet, Chinese, and East European variants should find a wide audience.

Alvin Z. Rubinstein
University of Pennsylvania

THE QUESTION OF IMPERIALISM: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DOMINANCE AND DEPENDENCE. BY BENJAMIN J. COHEN. (New York: Basic Books, 1973. 280 pages, selected bibliography and index, \$8.95).

Is the United States an imperialist power? According to this incisive study, the answer is yes and no. The author effectively exposes the mythology of the Left and the sanctimoniousness of the expansionist-minded. This is an ideal work for those seeking to introduce students to the complexities of a compelling phenomenon. ■

THE INDIAN WORLD AND THE FOURTH WORLD (Continued from page 269)

sistence on the separation of the people from the land that has characterized much of recent history. It is this same insistence that has prevented European North Americans from developing their own identity in terms of the land so that they can be happy and

secure in the knowledge of that identity.

My belief in the Fourth World is an act of faith. But it is no illusion. I have told you of the strength of my ancestors. My faith is simply that the strength of the present generation and those who are still coming toward us is no less than the strength of our forebears. The Fourth World is far more of a Long March than an Eternal Resting Place. My faith is that we, and our children's children, are willing and able to take up the burden of our history and set out on our journey. Were there no more to it than that I should ask no more of other men than to let us pass freely.

There is more to the Fourth World than that because it is a global village in which we live. If we cannot forget the history of past centuries, neither can we forget the events of recent decades. Our lives are too bound up with yours for either of us to go entirely our separate ways. We have heard your children crying in the night for peace and comfort as much as we have heard our own.

I have set down here our own needs as Indian peoples for the Fourth World. We know that we cannot move very far in that direction unless you also choose to move. Do you know how far you can move without us? The Fourth World is no less open to others than it is to us. We must each march to our own drum. We must each travel in our own way. I have spoken of our own needs because it is to my own grandchildren that I most want to speak my heart. I cannot speak of the needs of people I have hardly known. I can only believe that they are as real as our own.

We cannot become equal members in *your* society. We *can* become a member of a new society in which everyone chooses to share. But that cannot happen until you begin to reconsider and reformulate your understanding, and your view of the world, as we have begun to reformulate ours.

The Indian peoples have a tradition and a culture to offer to the world. We have tried to take on other peoples' ways and found that they just did not work for us. Today, more and more European people in North America are finding that their own culture cannot meet all their own needs while they live on this land. It is not only young people who are trying to retribalize European society by building communes and developing other forms of extended family. They are trying to re-create a situation in which everyone is related to everyone else, a situation in which everyone says, for better or for worse, "These are my people."

I hope these people have the patience to work through the generations it must have taken our ancestors to reach the level of stability and cooperation for which they have been so much praised. It

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THE AMERICAN INDIAN: AN OVERVIEW

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zontal type. The councils of many Indian tribes last for days because of the necessity of reaching unanimity on a decision. Orders are not issued; consensus agreements are reached.

Another cultural difference regards the identification of self and of how one regards self in relation to the world outside. Individuals who have been raised in the white culture have learned to think of themselves in a perpetual state of becoming. They are taught as children to live for the future—to be discontent with what they are and forever to plan to improve. A white American looks forward to being smarter, to having more money, to owning a larger house, to being the first or the most or the best.

In contrast, it makes little sense to ask an Indian child what he wants to be when he grows up. Indian children already are. They are children. They do not have to wait to be. And so it is through life. One is what one is; one is continually in a state of being rather than of becoming. One will become other things, of course, but the important thing is improving oneself as he is now.

Once the non-Indian accepts the fact that there are cultural differences, then he must appreciate the value of cultural pluralism in the United States. We must abandon the older national ideal of assimilation, the "melting pot" into which diverse peoples would be blended to lose their distinctive character. We must accept the idea that the United States is strong precisely because of its diversity; the contributions of each group should be honored, preserved, and enhanced in the enrichment of the whole.

The non-Indian must turn to the Indians themselves for more information about and appreciation of their history and their culture as it was and as it is. For far too long the dispensers of knowledge about the Indian have been the non-Indian explorer, soldier, missionary, government official, or scholar. The Indian has been described in various ways, sometimes not accurately, always from the non-Indian point of view. In most instances the Indian and his community have emerged as static and passive elements in society. The Indian's role in history and the reality of his continuity from the past to the present have been vague at best and often completely lost.

In recent years, several tribes (*e. g.*, Zuni, Southern Ute, Nez Perce, Cheyenne-Arapaho, and Navájo) have begun systematically to gather and publish their own materials about their history, language, literature,

music, and other elements of their culture. They have especially asked their old people to record on tape their memories of past years, ancient legends, and important leaders and events.⁹

For professionals in history, anthropology, and other appropriate disciplines, these projects can provide important insights into the past, present, and future of the Indian peoples. There is, however, discussion among these professionals about the merit of the projects because, for the most part, they are being conducted by non-academics. Questions have been raised about the validity of the use of oral history or whether these are "authorized" histories. Regarding oral history, it might be mentioned that Western civilization's grandest records began with oral history: the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Old Testament attest to this fact. Regarding authorized history, it might be said that previous history written by outside parties about Indian people was unauthorized. This is not to say that every work that is written by an Indian will be a good work or even an accurate work; nonetheless, these projects should be welcomed with an open mind by the academic community.

DIALOGUES BEGINNING

Several recent items give evidence of what is hopefully the beginning of a dialogue between the white scholarly community and the Indian peoples. Indians from the United States took part in two presentations at the International Congress of Americanists held in September, 1974, at Mexico City. The congress is a biennial gathering of scholars, almost exclusively white, from Europe and the Americas to exchange ideas and research about questions relating to the native populations of the Americas. One of the seminars during the recent congress involved a group of Indian academics who discussed their attempts to establish Native American Studies programs at various universities. Another even more remarkable seminar included presentations by non-academic Indians who explained the work they are doing in their tribal history and culture projects. In December, 1974, a group of tribal historians will be on the program at the American Historical Association meeting. Furthermore, organizations like the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution and the Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library are beginning to work closely with a diversified and growing group of tribal historians and archivists.

If this type of dialogue blossoms and finds its way into print and the other popular means of communication, it could open the door to a deeper and more accurate understanding of the Indian peoples and to a better and more truly pluralistic society in which every individual can respect another's right to express his culture. ■

⁹ See Dave Warren, "Concepts and Significance of Tribal History/Literature Projects." Paper prepared for the Research and Cultural Studies Development Section, Institute of American Indian Arts (Santa Fe, 1973).

THE URBAN INDIAN

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available, Indians appear to be discriminated against at about the same rate as are other non-white but non-Negro groups in most large cities. There are notable exceptions: cities that are notoriously hostile to Indians. Almost all these areas are close to reservations, in states with large Indian populations.

URBAN HOUSING

In any event, most urban Indians live in marginal or sub-marginal housing. At least in some areas this is due to discrimination; in addition, of course, it is strongly related to the lower income level of the Indian worker. However, a recent study conducted by this writer strongly indicates that in some cities Indians are not acceptable as tenants in middle class housing even when they are able to afford it.

Indians are the newest ethnic migrants to the urban areas of the United States. The future of this group depends on several factors. Inter-marriage between members of different tribal groups and between Indians and non-Indians is far more likely in the urban environment. Inter-marriage rates do appear to be rising somewhat in some areas. Countering this trend, however, are the militant groups that have their greatest appeal to the younger Indians. The long-term effect of these groups is uncertain. The Indians have long viewed as impractical community organization to plead special interests and to protect members from various inequalities. Currently, however, a number of cities have workable, viable community action groups dealing with a range of issues affecting urban Indians, including jobs, housing, health care and education, to name but a few. Whether these groups will proliferate and how well they function for the development of a sense of community in the city will determine the future of the urban Indian resident. It remains to be seen whether the urban Indian can obtain equality of opportunity and still resist the movement toward assimilation. ■

INDIANS AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS

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maintenance are frequently state responsibilities. Categorical aid, such as old age assistance and aid to dependent children, is largely federally funded but is processed for Indians through the same state mechanisms as for other citizens. Many other state services are available, varying with the state and circumstances of the particular Indian group involved.

Today only about one-half of the billion dollars appropriated by Congress each year for Indians is

channeled through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The other departments mainly involved are: the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Indian Health Service, Office of Native Programs, etc.); the Department of Housing and Urban Development; Economic Development Administration; and the Department of Labor (Manpower Administration). Federal programs for the general public, too, sometimes catch up to special programs for Indians and tend to be administered for Indians in the same manner as for other citizens, e.g., social security and employment services.

Nevertheless, there remain particular obligations of the federal government based on the historical federal relationship to the Indian. The most important of these obligations follow.

Reservation boundaries must be determined. Vital economic interests are involved on many reservations that have unresolved boundary questions. For example, in 1972, 20,000 acres of timberland that had been erroneously included in the National Forest in 1907 were returned to the Yakima Tribe.

Water rights must be ascertained. Water is necessary for life, and on many reservations the preservation of Indian water rights is a crucial issue. The BIA is accumulating data and entering into adjudication in cooperation with the tribes concerned as funds are made available.

Fractionated land ownership that prevents flexible economic use must be resolved.

Payments in lieu of taxes to states and localities must be provided as long as Indian trust land cannot be taxed by the state. Federal aid helps support local services, such as public schools that may be attended by the children of Indians living on trust land (Johnson-O'Malley payments to the states by BIA are in this category).

Indian claims against the United States must be processed under the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946. This process should be continued until completed. As of June, 1974, final awards of \$486 million had been made.

Assistance to Indians in developing effective tribal government must be increased by: (1) providing technical assistance on constitutions, ordinances, and election, enrollment, legislative disputes and procedures; (2) granting increased financial support for tribal officers and minimum administrative infrastructure for efficiency and continuity until the tribes have sufficient resources to provide for themselves; (3) making training available for tribal officials in policy formulation and administrative procedures so they can be effective in working toward the tribes' goals; (4) helping develop tribal corporate mechanisms for non-government functions, such as running cattle herds or other business activity.

The federal government must continue to support

and/or administer *Indian education* as desired by the Indians until education can be supported by other means.

The federal government also has an obligation to execute the *trust responsibility* for Indian resources, both land (surface, timber, grass, minerals) and funds, until Indians want trust responsibility removed. This means that after receiving the expressed desires and advice of Indians, the federal administrator has to make a decision on trust property use and see that the decision is executed. One of the most volatile areas, because of population pressure in large measure, is limiting the number of livestock to the grazing capacity of the land. The Navajo and Papago reservations, for example, are heavily overgrazed, threatening the continued productivity of the land, if productivity has not already been largely destroyed. Timber cutting must be limited to provide sustained yield. Regulations on the use of funds of minor children are sometimes touchy when the parents wish to use the funds before the children reach majority. Federal officials have a legal responsibility to exercise their best judgment in these situations until and unless they are relieved of their present statutory responsibility. As a general rule, Indian and federal judgments are parallel and no difficulty is involved. However, when there is a disagreement, the charge of "arbitrary" and "paternalistic" action is frequently raised.

Clarification of *treaty rights* through adjudication, such as fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest, illustrated by the recent decision in *United States v. the State of Washington*, is another important obligation of the federal government.

The responsibilities of the states and localities for federally recognized Indians and for Indians living on trust land vary depending on the federal statutes involved, the federal services provided, and the tribal services provided for a particular reservation. The state generally tries to fill in the gaps in services not provided by the tribal or federal government.

For non-reservation-residing Indians, the states' responsibility for Indian citizens is the same as for any state citizen. The same state responsibility extends to federally recognized Indians when they are within state jurisdiction; that is, not on an Indian reservation subject to tribal or federal law and order, or where education is provided directly by BIA.

States are recognizing the need to open up employment opportunities in government and in the private sector for Indians. Many of them are stimulating economic development and payroll opportunities for Indians on reservations and in other Indian com-

munities. Most states and their Indian communities realize that their economic futures are interrelated and that mutual economic and political cooperation will benefit all concerned.

The states have an obligation to take the initiative to meet Indian communities and individuals more than halfway, ensuring that they know of and receive services to which they are entitled as citizens of the state.

States also have an obligation to keep the political, economic and social systems open so that Indians are encouraged to participate in government and economic development, and in healthy social relationships.

Indians not living on reservations have the same obligations to the local, state and federal governments as other citizens.

For those federally recognized Indians living on reservations the Indian leadership objective is economic and political so that the politically separate Indian communities can be self-sufficient at least to the same degree as similar non-Indian communities.¹⁷ This means that although federally recognized Indians now want a strong relationship to the federal government (involving funds and services), they also want to become self-sufficient.

Current Indian policy recognizes the desirability of a pluralistic society. Indians not only demand the right to retain Indian culture, but they are encouraged in this view by the federal and many of the state governments. The corollary of this concept, however, is that the right to be different does not carry with it the right to a permanent subsidy. The Amish and the Hutterites retain many distinctive religious, social, political, and economic patterns, but they have adjusted their economic and political activity so that they are self-sufficient. Often, indeed, they are more self-sufficient than their neighbors.

Leaders and members of federally related tribes have recognized their responsibility to work for improved political, economic and educational resources for their communities. With the help of the federal, state and local governments they can achieve their goal of self-sufficiency.

Changes will not occur in Indian communities without Indian desire and Indian participation. As Black Elk put it in 1971: "We often blame the white man for our lack of progress but we must also shoulder a large part of the blame."¹⁸

The environment changes. Culture constantly changes. This is as true for Indians as it is for all of us. We must all try to keep a minimum lag between the demands of our environment and the beliefs and behavior patterns ingrained in our culture. As H. G. Wells is reputed to have said, "History is a race between education and catastrophe."

For many federally recognized Indians, reservation life has much security, though frequently at a subsistence level. Residents will not starve; welfare is

¹⁷ See results of a study on Indian goals in Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 ff.

¹⁸ *The Rough Rock News*, November 17, 1971, from a speech delivered to the National Indian Education Conference.

available and extensively used. Indians have the custom of sharing. Their houses and land are not taxed. Subsidized housing may be available; subsidized schooling and health care are available. Indians share in tribal assets and they may receive some income from the lease of any land they may own.

Reservation life may be very attractive compared to the dog-eat-dog competition in the crowded city, with its taxes, its medical and dental bills, the materialistic "always in a hurry" environment, surrounded by strangers and strange customs.

Many reservations are working to develop reservation resources to provide more jobs. However, the rapid increase in the Indian population (2.5 percent a year, as compared to less than one percent for the population at large) and the number of Indians already on reservations leaves little likelihood that all descendants of federally recognized Indians can be supported at a reasonable economic level from reservation resources alone.

I believe that most Indians recognize an obligation on the part of Indian communities and individuals to choose their way of life, bearing in mind that a life of dignity and well-being calls for self-reliance. The self-reliant Indian of colonial days has always been a model.

In 1831, tribes were described by Chief Justice John Marshall as "domestic dependent nations." Since then, they have been described variously as "municipal corporations," "political sovereigns," as having a "status higher than states," and as "separate political communities." Federally recognized tribal govern-

ments operate to some extent on aboriginal rights or sovereignty in areas not covered by federal treaty or statute. In 1871, treaty making was stopped because it was believed that tribes were no longer sovereign in the international sense. For a federally recognized group any treaty provision or any other aspect of tribal life is subject to congressional statute. However, if a right vested by treaty is unilaterally modified by congressional statute, the tribe has recourse in the courts if they view the terms of the statute as inequitable.

It is clear that federal tribes are not sovereign in the normal usage of that term but do hold residual sovereignty in areas not in violation of or covered by federal statutes or regulations. For example, a federally recognized tribe may determine its own form of government and its membership within the provisions of applicable federal statutes and may regulate domestic relations if not subject to state law. This residual sovereignty may be modified by statute. Therefore, I prefer to think of federal reservation communities that operate under a government form approved by or acquiesced in by the Secretary of the Interior as "separate political communities." The arrangements between such communities and local, state, and federal governments differ in each instance.

Indian reservation leadership, for the most part, assumes continued separate Indian governments. These governments will not all be the same and they will not all perform the same functions. What makes sense will be worked out among the Indian, local, state, and federal governments on a continually evolving basis. ■

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DANIEL G. REDMOND, JR., Publisher

ECONOMICS OF THE RESERVATION

(Continued from page 249)

"nondemonstrative emotionality and reserve,"¹⁷ one study found, and because of his "multifaceted pattern of emotional restraint and reserve," said another.¹⁸ A third concluded, "The practice of noninterference with the needs of others is adhered to so pervasively that Indians find it difficult to interact with aggressive whites and respond to our usually coercive behavior."¹⁹

There are signs, however, of a general improvement in the Indian's lot. To lure industry to the reservation, the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development has provided \$3.4 million in grants; the Small Business Administration and Economic Development Administration have offered loans; and the Office of Economic Opportunity, before its dismantlement, trained tribal leaders in business management. The BIA spent \$6.6 million in fiscal 1970 in locational subsidies, salary supplements, and loans and grants, and matched a \$20-million grant to help pave 770 miles of reservation roads. Critics have said the funds have been insufficient, less than funds available to others (road maintenance allocations, for example, were \$358 a mile on the reservation, \$635 off), and were spent on the poorest reservations rather than on those with the best potential.

Medical improvements were indicated in this 15-year summary:

The infant death rate dropped 62 percent, the death rate from certain diseases of early infancy dropped 56 percent, and the influenza and pneumonia death rate dropped 57 percent and the gastritis and related illness death rate dropped 86 percent.

In services, hospital admissions more than doubled from 50,000 to 102,000 a year, 98.6 percent of babies were born in hospitals compared to 88.2 percent, outpatient visits quintupled to 2,236,000 a year and dental service quadrupled to 845,000 a year.

In program development, more professionals joined the Indian Health Program: physicians increased from 125 to 500, dentists from 40 to 171 and nurses from 780 to 1,100. Thirteen hospitals, 19 health centers and 58 health stations were built, six residency training programs

were initiated for physicians, 4,000 Indians became allied health aides, training opportunities for 1,600 others were opened and safe water and waste disposal facilities were constructed for 48,000 families and improved for 17,000 others.²⁰

By 1971, the Indian Health Program reported it was operating 51 reservation hospitals, each with an outpatient department and from 6 to 276 beds. It operated 71 health centers with full-time staffs and 100 field health stations, and had contracts with non-government hospitals and specialists for Indian care. By 1972, in dentistry, the ratio of dentists to Indian population was one to 2,840, compared to one to 2,000 for the general population in 1970, the last surveyed year. There had been one dentist for each 6,333 Indians in 1956. Population officials now claim they reach 360,000 reservation Indians, and although there is no verification of the validity of these statistics, inroads have apparently been made to bring the Indian's health up to the standards of the developing countries.

To cut red tape, Congress recently made the Commissioner of Indian Affairs an assistant secretary; and it said that an act of Congress would no longer be necessary to award to Indians the settlements approved by the Indian Claims Commission and the Indian Court of Claims.

COURT DECISIONS

Recent court decisions have affirmed Indian rights to land and the minerals therein, and to unimpeded fishing and hunting. The Seneca nation, at Buffalo, New York, was awarded \$5.4 million on March 17, 1974, in compensation for land underpayments between 1797 and 1842. The Clowitz Indians of the state of Washington received \$1,550,000 in compensation for land taken from them in 1863. The Klamaths in northern California were awarded land they claimed had been theirs since before an 1892 homesteading law opened it to settlement. Fishing restrictions were removed from the Puyallup Indians in Washington state except where they fished for an endangered species; and the Leech Lake tribe in Minnesota was exempted from government regulation in hunting and fishing. Elsewhere, court battles for rights or compensation continue to be pressed.

Perhaps public opinion has been drawn to favor better treatment of the Indian by a fraction of young militants in symbolic marches and stands like the stands at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, Alcatraz Island in California, and Ellis Island in New York City. One should remember, however, that Indian militancy did not grow out of limited concessions, but was born of the fury that followed despair.

In the long run, education is the most promising path to the door of the twentieth century, but in the short run much can be done to help the Indian.

¹⁷ George A. Spindler and Louise S. Spindler, "American Indian Personality Types and their Sociocultural Roots," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, May 1967, vol. 31, no. 5, p. 147.

¹⁸ Thomas B. Stage and Thomas Keast, "A Psychiatric Service for Plains Indians," *Hospital and Community Psychiatrist*, March, 1966, vol. 17, no. 3, p. 74.

¹⁹ Gerard Littman, "The American Indian in Transition," *The American Journal of Public Health and the Nation's Health*, September, 1970, vol. 60, no. 9, p. 1779.

²⁰ Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Indian Health Service, "Indian Health Program 1955-70" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Supt. of Docs., no. D390B, May, 1971), pp. 2-4.

Comprehensive efforts must be made to induce companies to relocate on reservations. Grants, loans and subsidies must be expanded and must be accompanied by government assistance in construction. Industrial parks could be established along the perimeter of many reservations and in sections within larger reservations, to limit the costs of roads, sewerage, telephone and electricity connections, and to preserve in the interior, at least, some flavor of Indian reservation life.

Massive housing construction should be undertaken, with accompanying improvements in water and disposal systems, electricity and heating, but maximum attention should be paid to the advice of tribal leaders. Cultural impact must be minimized as the standard of living is raised.

Funds should be made available to attract doctors and nurses to Indian health facilities; a staffing problem is beginning to emerge because such service is no longer sought as an alternative to the military draft. Certainly, medical facilities should continue to be expanded and medical supplies should be increased, and the Indian, again through tribal leaders, should be advised of the benefits.

In Washington, D.C., whatever programs may be reasonably centralized should be combined under one roof, and administration and common definitions, premises and procedures should be established for the efficient use of information. A public relations staff should be employed to keep the Indian's problems in the public eye through the national and local media, and to help convince businesses, medical personnel, humanitarians and other interested observers to come to the reservations.

MAJOR RESEARCH NEEDED

Last—as first—major research must be financed, organized and conducted. Economically, this could include such inquiries as how to determine and develop reservation resources, both natural and human. Socially, this should probe into the character, values, and attitudes of the Indian, his history and the nature of his relationship to the reservation to the extent that the reservation may have a significance apart from common affection for birthplace and family. Politically, research could seek to harness the activism of the young militants by meeting their demands for funds and attention and by freeing them to help line up other Indians for pursuit of Indian gains.

Tens and hundreds of millions of dollars would be consumed in such efforts; one-half billion dollars a year is already being spent on behalf of a fraction of one percent of the American population. Yet the squalor is staggering in the midst of plenty and even with long-range planning, short-range realities exist. The only alternative, not worth considering, is to pity the Indian and turn away. ■

EDUCATION OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS

(Continued from page 270)

impetus to the Indian education movement. Johnson-O'Malley funds are limited to providing services to Indian children on or near reservations. This act is much more restrictive than Title IV, which can provide services to Indian children wherever they live. In terms of program parameters, both acts allow great latitude. Decisions rest with Indians.

There is another vital element in the Indian education movement in the United States. The support of conscience-stricken non-Indians will also help Indians to succeed in the public schools.

Very little has been said about the very serious problems of federal schools. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has contracted with a number of Indian tribes to operate federal schools, on a limited basis. Until all federal schools are turned over to Indians, there appears to be little hope of improvement.

Prospects for the improvement of Indian education are promising. Indian enthusiasm and optimism have never been greater. The destiny of the American Indians is finally in their hands. ■

THE INDIAN WORLD AND THE FOURTH WORLD

(Continued from page 273)

is a good model for the global village. It is not likely to be built by a community development worker who is only on a two-year tour of duty. Still, if he comes by, have him in for coffee. He may be helpful.

Indian people have never completely left our Old World, the Aboriginal World which I have tried to describe. European North Americans are already beginning to work their way out of a value system based on conquest and competition, and into a system that may be at least compatible with ours. If those values are really shared, technology can be harnessed to them to make the transition both easier and less painful. But I think technology will never be harnessed to our ways until we respect it as we have been taught to respect the animals, the water, the land, and the air. Not that it is exactly a living thing in itself. But it is an extension of the things that live.

Teilhard de Chardin, the French philosopher, I am told, had only one sentence in all his books related to North America. "If the white man also stays in North America another 10,000 years, he too will become Indian. If you think I mean wearing buckskin and living in wigwams, you are mistaken. I mean in gaining a feeling for this land. It is your only survival." I hope he is wrong. We do not have anything resembling ten thousand years remaining to us to make that transition if we are to survive. Either you or I. ■

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

A CURRENT HISTORY chronology covering the most important events of October, 1974, to provide a day-by-day summary of world affairs.

INTERNATIONAL

Arab League

(See also *Intl, U.N.; France*)

- Oct. 25—At the close of their preliminary 3-day meeting in Rabat, Morocco, foreign ministers of 19 of the 20 members of the Arab League recommend that the Arab countries support the claim of the Palestine Liberation Organization to all territories on the Jordan River's West Bank that may be evacuated by Israel.
- Oct. 26—A summit conference of heads of state of the Arab League opens in Rabat.
- Oct. 27—King Hussein of Jordan tells the Arab League heads of state that he holds the mandate in negotiating over the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat demands that his organization be the sole representative of the Israeli-occupied West Bank.
- Oct. 28—After Hussein agrees to honor Arafat's claim, the 20 Arab heads of state unanimously recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on any Palestinian land that is liberated." Henceforth, Yasir Arafat's organization will act for the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied Jordan West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- Oct. 29—At the conclusion of the 7th Arab summit meeting, it is reported that oil-producing Arab states will finance a multibillion dollar program of financial aid to the Arab states that border Israel.

Cyprus Crisis

(See also *Intl, U.N.*)

- Oct. 1—In an address to the U.N. General Assembly, the exiled former Cyprus President, Archbishop Makarios, strongly rejects the idea of geographical federation as a solution for the problems on Cyprus.
- Oct. 28—Reuters reports that the final exchange of prisoners held by Greek Cypriote and Turkish authorities took place today; 3,308 Turkish Cypriotes and 2,479 Greek Cypriotes have been released in 11 exchanges.

European Economic Community (EEC)

(See also *Intl, Oil Crisis; Canada*)

- Oct. 2—The 9 members of the European Economic Community (the Common Market) reach agreement on a common agricultural policy vetoed by West Germany last week.
- Oct. 21—The Finance Ministers of the 9 Common Market countries agree on a plan that allows the countries jointly to borrow up to \$3 billion from oil-producing countries; the loan can only be used to cover balance-of-payment deficits caused by the high cost of oil imports.

Middle East Crisis

(See also *Intl, Arab League, United Nations; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

- Oct. 11—U.S.S.R. party leader Leonid Brezhnev urges that Middle East peace talks be reconvened in Geneva as soon as possible.

Oil Crisis

- Oct. 1—The Venezuelan government announces an 18.5-percent tax increase for foreign oil companies operating in Venezuela, raising the amount the government receives per barrel of oil to \$9.08, beginning in the last 3 months of 1974.
- Oct. 4—In its budget for 1975, the Venezuelan government plans to cut oil production levels about 10 percent.
- The Saudi Arabian Minister of Petroleum Affairs says his country does not plan to reduce oil production.
- Oct. 8—After 2 days of meetings in Brussels, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) and the E.E.C. make public an agreement to maintain regular contacts.
- Oct. 13—In response to U.S. President Gerald Ford's request for lower oil prices (See *Current History*, November, "U.S., Foreign Policy," p. 240), Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlavi of Iran says that "no one can dictate to us." He is ready to discuss sharing oil resources with the U.S.
- Oct. 23—In a preliminary meeting before the OPEC oil ministers' meeting in Vienna planned for December 12, senior officials of the OPEC nations confer in Vienna on a new pricing structure for oil.

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

(See *Intl, Oil Crisis*)

United Nations

(See also *Cuba; Portugal*)

- Oct. 14—By a roll-call vote of 105 to 4 with 20 abstentions, the General Assembly endorses an Arab-led motion to give the Palestine Liberation Organization the opportunity to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine.
- Oct. 23—The Security Council votes for a resolution that extends the life of the U.N. Emergency Force in the Sinai until April 24, 1975.
- Oct. 28—The General Assembly opens debate on the issue of Cyprus.
- Oct. 30—In the Security Council, the U.S., Britain and France veto a resolution to oust South Africa from the U.N. because of her racial policies.

ARGENTINA

- Oct. 2—President Isabel Martinez de Perón calls for a meeting of opposition leaders to discuss the increasing numbers of political murders. The meeting is proposed shortly after an army captain is killed by terrorists. His is the 7th death or injury inflicted on military men since a Marxist group, the People's Revolutionary Army, promised to avenge the deaths of 16 guerrillas.
- Oct. 6—The People's Revolutionary Army offers a truce in reaction to President Perón's call for a meeting with opposition leaders. It asks for the release of all political and social prisoners, and for the abolition of all repressive legislation. In exchange, it offers to release 2 kidnapped army officers and a businessman and to stop all anti-military operations.

Oct. 7—Army Major Jaime Jimeno is shot and killed by terrorists. He is the 4th army officer to be killed in the last several weeks.

Oct. 8—Maurice Kember, president of the board of a Coca-Cola bottling plant, is freed by police, who kill one of his abductors. Kember was kidnapped August 6 and held for ransom.

Oct. 17—In an address before thousands of workers, President Perón announces the government's decision to "Argentinize" 3 foreign companies. The companies affected are Standard Electric, an ITT subsidiary; a branch of the German-owned Siemens Company; and the Italo-Argentine Electric Power Company. No effective date is announced, nor are the terms explained.

Oct. 21—Minister of the Economy José Gelbard resigns shortly before talks begin on wage increases. Perón names former Economy Minister Alfredo Gomez Morales to succeed him.

BELGIUM

Oct. 14—The Banque de Bruxelles, the nation's 2d largest bank, reveals the extent of its mismanagement in foreign-exchange transactions; losses total between \$25 million and \$70 million. The bank's disclosure follows similar disclosures by West German, Italian, Swiss, English and American banks.

CANADA

Oct. 22—Minister of Manpower and Immigration Robert Andras announces tighter regulations governing immigration policy. The new rules will take effect immediately and will apply until new, more restrictive immigration legislation is approved. Under the new rules, in order to receive full credit in the immigration point system, a prospective immigrant must have a job waiting for him and must not be depriving a Canadian of work.

Oct. 24—Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau confers with French officials in Paris, in an attempt to gain support for a special trade treaty between Canada and the Common Market countries.

CHILE

Oct. 23—In Geneva, the International Commission of Jurists issues a report accusing Chile of political repression that is "more ubiquitous and more systematic" than any repression since the overthrow of President Salvador Allende Gossens 13 months ago.

CHINA

Oct. 1—Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai are absent at the celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of Communist rule. Mao has not appeared in public since 1971. Chou made a surprise visit to an anniversary party September 30; it is believed that he has returned to the hospital.

Oct. 19—Danish Premier Poul Hartling meets with the hospitalized Chou En-lai. Hartling is the 1st foreign visitor to be received by Chou during the last 2 weeks.

Oct. 21—Hartling meets with Mao Tse-tung outside Peking and reports that he is "a man with a clear mind and a sense of humor."

Oct. 25—The *New York Times* reports that a Kansu radio broadcast an announcement on September 24 that the 1st giant power plant on the Yellow River has been completed. Although the power plant has been operating since 1962, this is the 1st official word on the completion of the project.

Oct. 31—The Hong Kong Communist newspaper *Ta Kung*

Pao discloses that Liu Shao-chi, China's purged and discredited former Chief of State, is dead.

CUBA

Oct. 7—In his address to the U.N. General Assembly, Foreign Minister Raul Roa Garcia asserts that negotiations with the U.S. cannot begin until the U.S. lifts its blockade of Cuba.

Oct. 16—As a result of last month's visit to Cuba by U.S. Senators Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) and Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.), 4 Americans are released from Cuban jails.

DENMARK

(See *China*)

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

(See *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

EGYPT

(See *Intl, Arab League; Israel; U.S.S.R.; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

ETHIOPIA

Oct. 7—In the first public indication of dissent within the military, the ruling Provisional Military Council orders tanks and armored cars to surround the headquarters of the Army Aviation Corps and of the Army Engineering Corps. Units of the 2 corps have refused to hand over "obstructionist elements within their ranks."

FRANCE

(See also *Canada*)

Oct. 5—The Cabinet decides to divide the province of Corsica into 2 departments in order to ease the antagonism between the Ajaccio and Bastia areas.

Oct. 6—2 Gaullists, who were ministers in the Cabinet of the late President Georges Pompidou, are defeated in parliamentary elections. The Gaullist party still holds a majority in the National Assembly, but recent elections show the Socialist party gaining strength.

Oct. 14—An agreement is reached between trade unions and management that gives 20 million wage earners a guarantee of 1 year's pay in case of layoffs due to adverse economic conditions.

Oct. 21—The Senate and National Assembly vote to amend the constitution to permit judicial review of laws that may encroach on individual liberties.

Foreign Minister Jean Sayvagnargues meets in Beirut with Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat.

GERMANY, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (East)

Oct. 7—Soviet Communist leader Leonid I. Brezhnev attends celebrations marking the nation's 25th anniversary.

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (West)

Oct. 28—Chancellor Helmut Schmidt arrives in Moscow for talks with Soviet Secretary General Leonid I. Brezhnev. In discussions on Moscow-Bonn relations, Brezhnev demands strict observation of the 1971 4-power agreement on West Berlin.

GREECE

(See also *Intl, Cyprus Crisis*)

Oct. 7—The government announces that parliamentary elections will be held November 17.

The Cabinet approves a constitutional law that re-

quires the government to announce the date for a referendum on the future of the monarchy within 15 days after the election. The referendum must be held within 30 days of the announcement.

Oct. 8—The government of Premier Constantine Caramanlis resigns. A caretaker Cabinet will be appointed to supervise next month's elections.

Oct. 9—The caretaker Cabinet is sworn in.

Oct. 21—Former dictator George Papadopoulos and 4 others are charged by the chief prosecutor of Athens with the responsibility for the deaths of at least 18 people last spring.

Oct. 23—Papadopoulos and 4 other former leaders are arrested and exiled to the island of Kea. They are accused of engaging in "conspiratorial activities."

HONDURAS

Oct. 17—Foreign Minister Cesar A. Batres resigns following charges that he mishandled relief efforts for flood and hurricane victims.

INDIA

(See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Oct. 1—In an infrequent radio address, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi asks the nation to undertake strict austerity measures in order to cope with the high inflation rate and the food shortage.

Oct. 4—The Shah of Iran, Mohammed Riza Pahlevi, ends a 2-day visit.

Oct. 10—Gandhi realigns her Cabinet by appointing Defense Minister Jagjivan Ram as head of the Agricultural Ministry and Industrial Development and Agricultural Minister Chidambaram Subramaniam as Finance Minister. The changes are a further attempt to improve India's economic position and alleviate the food shortage.

The government appeals directly to the U.S. for food shipments under the U.S. Food for Peace Program.

IRAN

(See *Intl, Oil Crisis; India*)

ISRAEL

(See also *Intl, Arab League, Middle East, U.N.; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Oct. 9—In defiance of government policy, nearly 5,000 Israelis attempt to settle in unauthorized areas of the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River. Israeli soldiers turn the would-be settlers back.

Oct. 12—U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger meets in Jerusalem with Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin.

Oct. 20—Government officials indicate that they will insist on an assured supply of oil before any consideration is given to troop withdrawal from occupied Egyptian fields at Abu Rudeis. Half the oil consumed by Israel—nearly 5 million tons a year—comes from these fields.

Oct. 24—The National Religious party, formerly aligned with the Opposition, votes to join the government coalition of Premier Rabin.

ITALY

Oct. 3—Premier Mariano Rumor submits his government's resignation to President Giovanni Leone. The center-left coalition split apart after 105 days in office.

Oct. 14—At the behest of the Christian Democratic party, Senator Amintore Fanfani, former President, agrees to accept the post of Premier-designate. He must gain the support of the 3 other parties in the old coalition.

Oct. 25—Premier-designate Fanfani, unable to form a center-left coalition, returns his mandate to President Leone, who will begin talks with other political leaders to plan a future course.

Oct. 29—Foreign Minister Aldo Moro, a Christian Democrat, is asked by President Leone to try to form a Cabinet.

JAPAN

Oct. 14—In Parliament, Foreign Minister Toshio Kimura is asked whether U.S. warships have been permitted to bring nuclear arms into Japanese territory. The controversy arose after a retired U.S. rear admiral, Gene Robert LaRocque, told a U.S. congressional sub-committee of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy on September 10 that American warships had not unloaded their nuclear arms before entering Japanese ports.

Oct. 21—Rallies staged throughout the country mark the beginning of an attempt by leftists to prevent U.S. President Gerald Ford from visiting next month. The leftist groups include members of the Communist party, the Socialist party, and the major labor unions.

Oct. 28—As part of his administration's "Pan-Pacific diplomacy," Premier Kakuei Tanaka leaves for a 12-day trip to New Zealand, Australia and Burma. Tanaka is attempting to assure Japan of continued supplies of raw materials.

JORDAN

(See *Intl, Arab League; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

KENYA

Oct. 14—4 Cabinet ministers and 9 assistants are voted out of office in the parliamentary elections. Only members of the sole political party in Kenya, the African National Union, stood for election.

KOREA, REPUBLIC OF (South)

Oct. 7—In an address before the National Assembly, opposition party leader Kim Young Sam threatens the government of President Park Chung Hee with open rebellion if the government's policy of repression continues.

The trial of the accused assassin of the President's wife begins.

Oct. 9—In the largest demonstration since martial law was declared 2 years ago, 5,000 Catholics protest in Seoul against the government of President Park.

Oct. 11—Former President Yun Po-Sun, Roman Catholic Bishop Daniel Chi Hak, and others lose in their last appeal before the appellate court for review of their sentences.

Oct. 24—The publisher of the largest newspaper accedes to the demands of editors and reporters by agreeing to publish a statement denouncing government press restrictions.

LEBANON

Oct. 21—After 18 days of negotiations, former Premier Sael Salam gives up his attempt to form a government. Takiaddin Solh, who resigned as Premier 3 weeks ago, still heads a caretaker Cabinet.

MALAYSIA

Oct. 9—Final returns from the national election show the ruling National Front coalition winning 135 of the 154 seats in Parliament.

MEXICO

(See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Oct. 3—In order to reduce the high inflation rate the government announces the imposition of price controls. Prices can be increased on the controlled products only when production costs increase by more than 5 percent and if the government approves. The controls are set on commodities ranging from staple foodstuffs to industrial products.

MOROCCO

(See *Intl, Arab League; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

NIGERIA

Oct. 1—Chief of State General Yakubu Gowon announces the military government's decision to postpone indefinitely the promised civilian rule. The military has been in control since 1966.

PAKISTAN

Oct. 22—Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto reveals that the Finance Minister has resigned from the Cabinet; other changes are announced; 4 new ministers are added to the Cabinet.

PERU

Oct. 16—The former owners of the newspaper *El Comercio* file suit against the military government of President Juan Velasco Alvarado. They accuse the government of illegally expropriating the paper. *El Comercio* and 5 other dailies were taken over last July.

PHILIPPINES

Oct. 12—President Ferdinand E. Marcos orders the government to prepare an amnesty proclamation for all members of the outlawed Communist party. 27 leaders of the 44-year-old Communist party have surrendered and turned in their weapons.

POLAND

(See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Oct. 16—Representatives of Communist parties from 28 nations meet in Warsaw to arrange for a full-scale international Communist party meeting.

PORTUGAL

Oct. 1—Following the September 30 resignation of President António de Spínola, the armed forces are placed on full alert as a precaution against a coup by rightists.

Oct. 2—The arrests of conservatives and rightists continue, bringing the total to around 150.

Oct. 17—The new President, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, addresses the U.N. General Assembly and assures the delegates that Portugal will develop a democracy based on a multiple party system and "an atmosphere of political tolerance."

Oct. 18—President Costa Gomes meets in Washington, D.C., with U.S. President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Oct. 22—An electoral law is published; this is the first step in the program for free elections.

Portuguese Territories

MOZAMBIQUE

Oct. 22—Racial violence continues; 49 are killed and scores

are injured in a gunfight between Frelimo troops and Portuguese commandos.

SAUDI ARABIA

(See *Intl, Oil Crisis; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

SPAIN

Oct. 26—Finance Minister Barrera de Irimo announces an economic action program; he promises to limit unemployment to 2 percent, to reduce the inflation rate to 4 percent, and to cut the foreign payments deficit. Austerity measures by the public are minimal.

Oct. 29—Minister of Information and Tourism Pio Cabanillas Gallos, a liberal, is dismissed; he has been opposed by conservatives for allowing some press freedom. No formal announcement is made.

Minister of Finance Irimo resigns.

SWITZERLAND

Oct. 20—By a 2-to-1 vote, the Swiss electorate rejects a proposal that called for the deportation of half of the country's 1.1 million foreigners, including 300,000 immigrant workers, over the next 3 years.

THAILAND

Oct. 7—King Phumiphol Aduldet formally accepts the 9th constitution as passed by the National Assembly, although he objects to one of its provisions. The constitution calls for a popularly elected House of Representatives of 240 to 300 members and a 100-member Senate chosen by the King.

TURKEY

(See also *Intl, Cyprus Crisis; U.S., Legislation*)

Oct. 10—President Fahri Koruturk once again asks the caretaker government of Premier Bulent Ecevit to try to form a new government. Ecevit resigned September 18 over differences with the coalition party, the Islamic National Salvation party.

U.S.S.R.

(See also *Intl, Middle East Crisis; Germany, East; Germany, West; Poland; U.S., Foreign Policy*)

Oct. 15—In a joint announcement, it is revealed that Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat plan to meet in January, 1975. The announcement follows a discussion between Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko in Moscow.

UNITED KINGDOM

Great Britain

Oct. 10—Parliamentary elections are held.

Oct. 11—Final returns of yesterday's election show Labour with a 3-seat majority over the combined seats of Conservatives, Liberals, Scottish and Welsh nationalists. Labour now holds 319 seats, the Conservatives 276, and the Liberals, 13.

The government reports a visible trade deficit in September of \$888 million, up from the \$754-million deficit in August.

Oct. 29—At the formal opening of the new Parliament, the Labour government's plans for further nationalization of industry are announced by Queen Elizabeth II.

Northern Ireland

Oct. 15—British troops are called in to restore order at the Maze prison camp outside Ulster. Inmates are protesting the government policy of detaining suspected terrorists without trial.

UNITED STATES**Administration**

Oct. 4—Former President Richard Nixon leaves the hospital after 12 days of treatment for phlebitis.

Oct. 8—Addressing a joint session of Congress, President Gerald Ford declares that the nation must "Whip Inflation Now"; he suggests a broad economic program including a 1-year, temporary, 5 percent surcharge on corporate incomes and on middle and upper level personal incomes; a reduction in oil imports; reduction in the taxes of low income families; the creation of public service jobs and other aid for the unemployed, among other proposals.

The President names Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton to serve as head of the nation's energy program and to head the new national energy board.

Oct. 11—In a letter to chairman of the Senate Rules Committee Howard Cannon (D., Nev.), Vice President-designate Nelson A. Rockefeller discloses that he made gifts to former members of his staff and public officials of \$1,778,878. The largest amount, \$550,000, went to William J. Ronan, chairman of the New York-New Jersey Port Authority; Henry Kissinger received \$50,000 when he left Rockefeller's staff for federal service.

Oct. 17—The President appears before the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Criminal Justice to explain why he pardoned former President Richard M. Nixon. Declaring that "there was no deal, period," he testifies that he pardoned Nixon "out of a concern to serve the best interests of the country." His appearance is the 1st formal appearance of a President in office before a congressional committee.

Oct. 23—Former President Richard Nixon is readmitted to Long Beach, California, Memorial Hospital Medical Center for further treatment of phlebitis.

Oct. 28—In addition to almost \$2 million in gifts, Vice President-designate Nelson Rockefeller discloses a list of loans he made to a variety of people during the last 17 years; the loans total \$507,656.

Oct. 29—President Ford announces that Federal Energy Administrator John C. Sawhill has been forced to resign; he names Andrew E. Gibson to succeed Sawhill as part of a "new" team to work with newly appointed energy head Morton.

Former President Richard M. Nixon is in critical condition after a 70-minute operation to tie off a new blood clot in his left leg.

Civil Rights

Oct. 9—Federal district court Judge W. Arthur Garrity denies a motion by Boston's Mayor Kevin H. White to deploy 125 federal marshals to enforce a school busing order that has produced racial strife in Boston.

In an unusual presidential comment on a court order, at a news conference in Washington, D.C., President Gerald Ford deplores the violence taking place in Boston but adds that "the court decision in that case, in my judgment, was not the best solution to quality education in Boston."

Oct. 10—425 riot-equipped police take up positions on the streets of South Boston to help protect blacks being bused to schools in white ethnic areas.

Oct. 15—Massachusetts Governor Francis W. Sargent asks President Ford to send federal troops to Boston. He also mobilizes 2 National Guard military police units.

The White House declares that federal troops "should only be used as a last resort."

Oct. 21—Boston's 200 schools begin a 6th week of court-ordered integration quietly.

Economy

Oct. 8—The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation declares the Franklin National Bank insolvent; the European-American Bank and Trust Company takes over the banking institution immediately under an agreement in which no Franklin National depositor will suffer any losses.

Oct. 10—The U.S. Labor Department reports only a one-tenth of 1 percent rise in wholesale prices in the month of September, the lowest increase in 11 months.

Oct. 15—The Franklin New York Corporation, holding company of the Franklin National Bank, files for bankruptcy in federal district court in New York.

Oct. 17—The U.S. Department of Commerce reports that the GNP declined by 2.9 percent during the 3d quarter of 1974 for the 3d consecutive quarter.

Oct. 22—The Labor Department reports that the Consumer Price Index rose 1.2 percent in September after seasonal adjustment.

Oct. 24—The General Motors Corporation announces plans to lay off 6,000 workers indefinitely at its 4 plants making small cars. This brings the total number of workers laid off indefinitely at General Motors to 36,000.

Ford and Chrysler each announce further layoffs, bringing their combined total layoffs to 27,000 workers.

Oct. 25—The Commerce Department reports a sharp decline in the U.S. trade deficit for September to \$233 million, down from a record \$1.13 billion in August.

The General Motors Corporation announces 3d quarter earnings of \$16 million, down 94 percent from a record \$267 million for the same period in 1973.

Foreign Policy

(See also *Intl. Oil Crisis; Cuba; Israel; Japan; Portugal; U.S., Legislation*)

Oct. 4—Treasury Secretary William E. Simon announces that the President has ordered suspension of a \$500-million shipment of corn and wheat to the U.S.S.R.

Oct. 5—Representatives of 2 grain companies agree to halt the shipment of grain to the U.S.S.R.

Oct. 7—The administration announces a limited system of controls on large exports of grain, to prevent excessive drains on limited U.S. supplies.

Oct. 9—President Ford and Polish Communist party leader Edward Gierk sign a joint statement affirming principles of friendship and a statement expressing their desire to improve economic and political relations.

7 hostages including Barbara Hutchinson, director of the U.S. Information Service in Santa Domingo, are freed by guerrillas who had held them captive in the Venezuelan consulate in Santo Domingo.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger returns to the Middle East and begins conferences with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in Cairo.

Oct. 12—After meeting in Jordan, Kissinger flies to Israel.

Oct. 13—Kissinger says he has reached agreement with Israeli leaders on "the principles and procedures" for the next round of Arab-Israeli negotiations on a Middle East settlement.

King Faisal of Saudi Arabia is reported to have pledged his nation's aid in reducing oil prices. Kissinger says he has explained the U.S. view on oil prices to the King.

- Oct. 15—Kissinger talks with Moroccan King Hassan II as he ends his Middle East tour.
- Oct. 18—Senator Henry Jackson (D., Wash.) makes public an exchange of letters with Kissinger detailing a compromise on Soviet Jewish emigration and trade. Soviet emigration policies will be eased in return for trade benefits from the U.S.
- Oct. 19—A 2.2-million-ton grain deal between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. is announced by the U.S. in Washington. The grain deliveries are to be made in monthly increments.
- Oct. 21—President Gerald Ford meets President Luis Echeverría of Mexico at Nogales, Arizona, and then flies with him to Magdalena, Mexico, for a conference on a wide range of issues.
- Oct. 23—U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger arrives in Moscow for conferences with Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev on arms control.
- Oct. 27—After 3 days of talks with Brezhnev in Moscow, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger arrives in New Delhi, India.
- Oct. 29—At the close of Kissinger's visit to India, diplomats report that the U.S. plans to supply at least 500,000 tons of grain to India at a reduced price.
- Oct. 30—Kissinger arrives in Bangladesh.
- Oct. 31—In Pakistan, Kissinger reiterates U.S. friendship for Pakistan.

Labor and Industry

- Oct. 4—The U.S. Labor Department reports a sharp increase in unemployment in September, to 5.8 percent of the work force.

Legislation

(See also *U.S., Administration*)

- Oct. 2—The Senate votes 41 to 39 to send back to committee the controversial \$2.5-billion foreign aid bill.
- Oct. 4—The Senate votes 56 to 7 to direct the President to retain custody of the White House tapes of former President Richard M. Nixon. The bill, containing a ban against the destruction of any "Watergate" tapes without congressional approval, goes to the House.
- Oct. 9—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee fails to take action on the President's controversial nomination of Peter M. Flanagan as Ambassador to Spain; the nomination will have to be resubmitted after the congressional recess.
- Oct. 10—The Senate approves an antidiscrimination measure that forbids credit discrimination based on sex or marital status; it is an amendment attached to the Depository Institutions Amendments Act, 1974. Passed by the House yesterday, it goes to the White House.

Completing congressional action, the House votes 365 to 24 to approve the legislation providing for federal campaign financing reform, including the public financing of presidential primaries and elections.

- Oct. 14—President Gerald Ford vetoes an appropriation bill that includes a provision ending U.S. aid to Turkey unless the President certifies to Congress that Turkey is complying with U.S. foreign aid laws and that progress is being made toward settlement of the Cyprus dispute.
- Oct. 15—The House of Representatives fails to override the President's veto of the bill cutting off U.S. aid to

Turkey. The vote is 223 to 135 to override, 16 votes short of the required $\frac{2}{3}$ vote.

The President signs the campaign financing reform bill.

- Oct. 16—Overriding President's Ford's veto for the 1st time, Congress passes into law a \$7-billion railroad retirement bill.

Both houses of Congress again approve a measure cutting off aid to Turkey and send it to the President.

- Oct. 17—After the President vetoes the October 16 measure cutting off aid to Turkey, the House votes 191 to 33 to approve compromise legislation continuing military aid to Turkey until December 10; the Senate approves the compromise shortly afterward by voice vote.

Congress adjourns until November 18.

- Oct. 18—President Ford signs the compromise bill on aid to Turkey.

Military

- Oct. 25—The Defense Department announces the successful test-firing of a Minuteman I intercontinental ballistic missile dropped from an airplane. The test, which took place yesterday, is the first successful test of its kind.

Political Scandal

- Oct. 1—Federal Judge John J. Sirica opens the trial of the Watergate cover-up case in Washington, D.C.
- Oct. 2—Shortly after resigning as California's Lieutenant Governor, Ed Reinecke receives an 18-month suspended sentence in U.S. district court in Washington, D.C., for lying to the Senate Judiciary Committee in its inquiry into the affairs of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation in 1972.
- Oct. 12—Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski announces his resignation as of October 25.
- Oct. 17—Richard Nixon's lawyers file suit in federal district court in Washington to have the court enforce the September 6 agreement that gave him control of his presidential papers and tapes.
- Oct. 21—Federal district court Judge Charles R. Richey issues a temporary restraining order barring the Ford administration "from effectuating the terms and conditions of the 'agreement' entered into by Richard M. Nixon and Arthur F. Sampson on or about September 6, 1974." He orders the White House to hold the Nixon tapes and papers; Nixon is to be given access "for the sole purpose of preparing to testify in the Watergate criminal trial."
- Oct. 26—Henry S. Ruth, Jr., is sworn in as the 3d Watergate special prosecutor.

Political Terrorism

- Oct. 26—5 bombs explode at different sites in New York City's financial district and cause extensive property damage. A nationalist Puerto Rican terrorist organization (FALN) claims credit for the bombings.

Politics

- Oct. 22—In a political address in Oklahoma City, President Ford warns that a sweeping Democratic victory in the November congressional elections would threaten bipartisan foreign policy and world peace.
- Oct. 31—The President visits 6 states on the last leg of a 16,000-mile campaign tour that will cover 20 states.

Supreme Court

- Oct. 7—The U.S. Supreme Court opens its 1974-1975 term.

(Continued on page 288)

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VENEZUELA

(See *Intl. Oil Crisis*)

VIETNAM, REPUBLIC OF (South)

Oct. 1—Appearing in a 2-hour televised talk, President Nguyen Van Thieu responds to corruption charges made by the Reverend Tran Huu Thanh, a conservative Roman Catholic priest. Thieu promises to rescind a restrictive decree that has made his party, the Democracy party, the only legal political party in the country. While not directly answering each charge of corruption, Thieu offers to resign from office if "the entire people and army no longer have confidence in me."

Oct. 4—Government military sources report the loss of one of the government's last bases between the Central Highlands city of Kontum and the coast.

Oct. 10—300 newspapermen and 1,000 supporters demonstrate in Saigon to protest official corruption and press censorship.

Oct. 20—Anti-government demonstrators in Saigon stone

the National Assembly building.

Oct. 24—Information Minister Hoang Duc Nha, a close associate of President Thieu's, and 3 other Cabinet ministers resign. Nha was asked to resign by an alliance of newspaper publishers and press associations. Nha's responsibilities included censoring newspapers and confiscating those he found objectionable.

Oct. 25—377 army officers are dismissed on charges of corruption.

Oct. 30—President Thieu announces that 3 military corps commanders have been transferred; the opposition coalition has accused them of corruption.

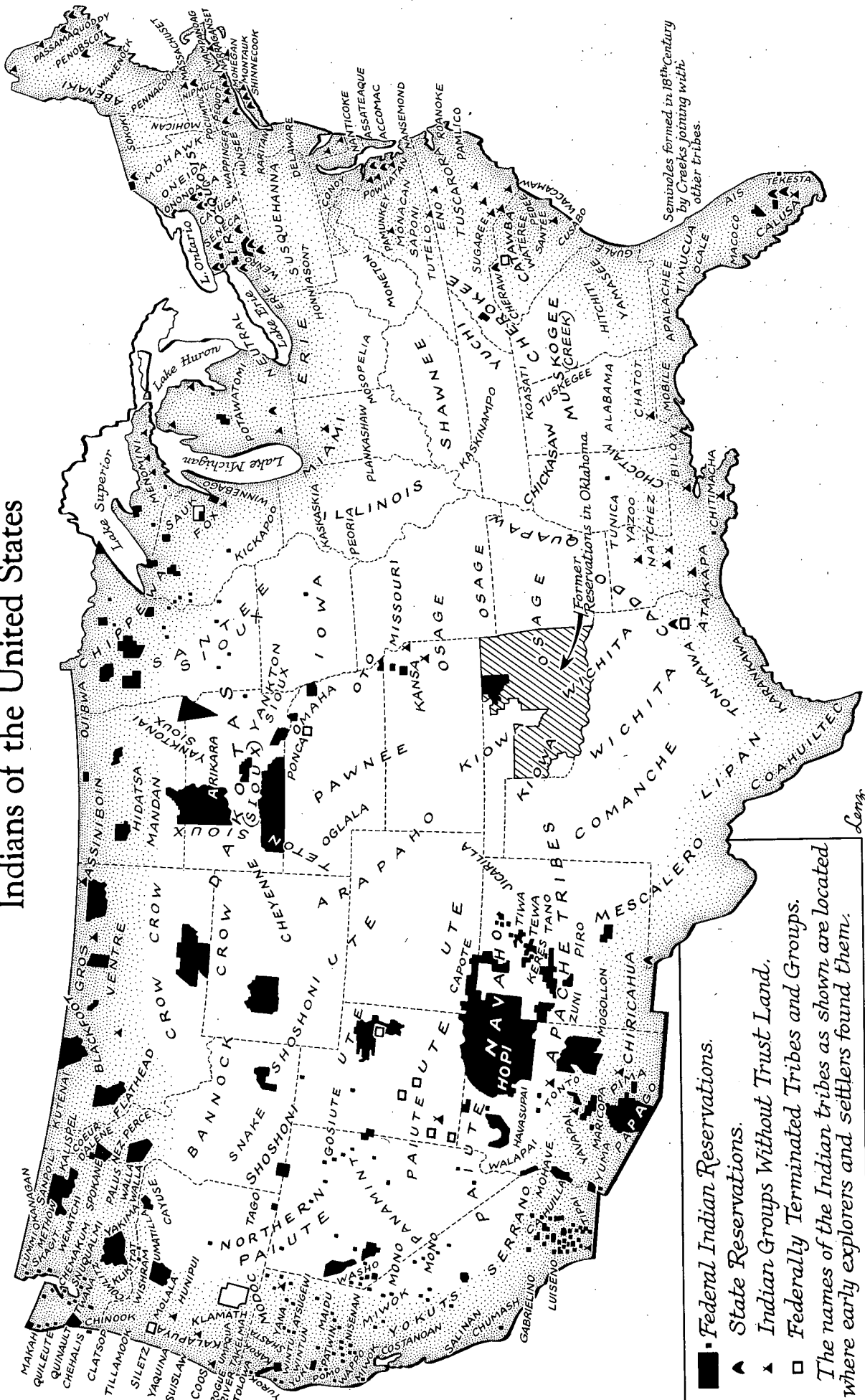
Oct. 31—In a night and a morning of violence on the streets of Saigon, 75 policemen and civilians are reported injured.

YUGOSLAVIA

Oct. 23—In the latest in a series of court actions against people with political attitudes at odds with the government, 74-year old Djura Djurovic is sentenced to 5 years in prison on charges of writing anti-Tito material for foreign publications 5 years ago. Djurovic was a World War II opponent of Tito's.

Oct. 30—The government accuses Austria of sheltering Nazis and others hostile to Yugoslavia. ■

Indians of the United States



AVAILABLE FROM Current History

Academic Year 1974-1975

- ☐ The American Presidency (6/74)
- ☐ The American Two-Party System (7/74)
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- ☐ The People's Republic of China, 1974 (9/74)
- ☐ The Soviet Union, 1974 (10/74)
- ☐ Changing Black America (11/74)

- ☐ The American Indian (12/74)
- ☐ Latin America, 1975 (1/75)
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